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Aguacatenango

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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INTERPRETATIONS OF DRINKING PERFORMANCES IN AGUACATENANGO

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 This thesis is an introduction to the ethnography of drinking in Aguacatenango, a Mayan-speaking community in Chiapas. It displays in some detail the roles and the circumstances of drinking performances there, and it examines some of the ways in which drinking performances reflect the more general beliefs and habitual actions of the people of the community.

*273 183 The drinking of beverage alcohol is a highly frequent, well-patterned part of life in most of the Chiapas highland Indian communities, the only known exceptions being some of the *273 184 [114] protestant enclaves in Oxchuk and environs (Slocum 1956). While detailed references to drinking performances are scarce, it has been determined that variations on the patterns to be described for Aguacatenango are likely to be found at least in Amatenango (Nash 1960); Cancuc (Guiteras-Holmes 1946); Chamula (Bunzel 1940, Pozas 1959); Chenalhó (Guiteras-Holmes 1961); Huistan (Miller 1958); Oxchuc (Castro 1959, 1962; Siverts 1960; Slocum 1956; Villa-Rojas 1946); Tenejapa (Metzger and Williams 1963);

273* 184 Tzinacantan (Laughlin 1962). Many more of the Indian communities could be added to this list.

273* 171 In a more general way, the drinking patterns found in Chiapas highlands are observed throughout much of the aboriginal new world. Thus Cooper (1946: 544) says:

> In some regions, particularly the Andean and parts of the forested lowlands, fermented beverages are drunk as a common everyday beverage. Most of the drinking, however, throughout the great brewing area of the West Indies, Middle America and continental South America is in connection with drinking sprees, of a social and/or magicoreligious nature in which groups participate. These drinking bouts are main or attendant features of gatherings of all kinds, especially in connection with hunting, fishing, harvesting, and other food-getting activities, with visiting and hospitality to guests, with war, victory, and peacetime councils, with births, naming, initiations, weddings, and funerals, and with magico-religious festivals, rites, and celebrations--the specific occasions differing from tribe to tribe and from area to area. The sprees may last from a few hours up to many days, usually until all the available liquid is exhausted. The participants imbibe until they reach various stages of intoxication, from mild tipsiness to complete alcoholic coma. Among nearly all people on whom we have information, the bouts are accompanied by and end in the airing of grudges and hurling of insults, which lead to quarrels and fighting, more or less violent and not uncommonly fatal. Sex intrigues and orgies are equally common accompaniments.

121 273* While some of the general characteristics of drinking are known for the New World, detailed ethnographic descriptions are rather rare, causing Cooper (1946), Heath (1962), Simmons (1962), and Washburne (1961), among others, to suggest that more attention needs to be paid to this type of study. The descriptions of drinking performances which have been published on the aboriginal populations of the New World are perceptive if overly brief.

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273 They tend to aim at understanding drinking as a pathological phenomena and thus dysfunctional (cf. Bunzel 1940) or, alternatively, as an anxiety reducing mechanism (Horton 1943), dysfunctional only in those societies which have not successfully integrated drinking performances into the set of legitimate and even necessary social performances. On the other hand, drinking has been viewed as functional and integrative by Mangin (1957), Heath (1962), and Simmons (1962). Most recently, a cross-cultural study done by Field (1962) has suggested that heavy drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal (or informal) rather than a corporate (formal) organization, but is substantially unrelated to the level of anxiety in the society."

The paucity and the inadequacy of description reported in these cross-cultural studies indicate that performances have been primarily of interest to students of alcoholism and have been of only peripheral interest to anthropologists. To the extent that drinking has been of interest to anthropologists, it has been interpreted with a view to throwing light on the consumption of beverage alcohol in the United States. The point has been well made that alcoholism as it is known in the United States is but one of a variety of forms of drinking performances and that students of alcoholism may wish to examine other forms before constructing a general set of statements about the consumption of beverage alcohol by human beings. Whether the use

121 of beverage alcohol is functional or dysfunctional depends on
273* socio-cultural contexts which need to be uncovered in every next case in which such use is investigated. A description of the relation of drinking patterns to their socio-cultural context, then, contributes to a steadily growing but still inadequate ethnographic literature without which further cross-cultural perspective will be lacking.

121 The present investigation is devoted to a detailed statement of how alcohol is used in Aguacatenango. The bulk of the
123 data herein reported came as the result of participant observa-
124 tion for extended periods in Aguacatenango. Some material on the drinking patterns of individuals was gathered in interviews conducted by transcribing informants. These interviews were special Tzeltal conversations in which Pedro Juárez and Mariano Juárez separately read off or otherwise repeated questions directing the respondent to report some aspect of his experience with drinking.

124 Of all the questions which could be asked, we selected
125 seven which are reported by our informants to occur frequently in conversation about drinking and which men answer about themselves if they are asked. Our two transcribing informants then asked these questions of seventy-six men in town. The procedure was simply to ask each person a question, listen to his response, and then write down in Tzeltal a "synopis" of the response. The

124 Tzeltal and nearest English equivalents are listed below:
125

1. HAY C'OH KAWUC' TRAWO TA HUN *U? TU *ORA HATE LA *AWUC' IXE?

   How many times a month do you drink? When did you last drink?

2. HAYE* K'AHAL KAWUC' HUHUN YAKBELE?

   How many days do you drink on each drunk?

3. TUT'IL X LIHK *AWUC'.

   How did you begin to drink?

4. ME ZAM YA XNEL AWU*UN YA XYAK'UBATE, ME MA*YUK TA PLETO, ME MA*YUK YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you drink contentedly? Do you fight? Do you get sick?

5. ME YA SOL AWUN *IP, ME TENEX YUZIL KAWUC' *A.

   Do you drink in excess, or do you drink a proper amount?

6. ME YA YA*BAT CAMEL?

   Do you get sick?

7. TUT'A CAMELIL LA YA*BAT?

   What illness did you get?

125 Such a set of question frames as the above could obviously be expanded to include a wider variety of behavior related to drinking. The present set was used simply to provide evidence for the observation that drinking patterns are "important" in Aguacatenango--importance being measured in terms of the reports of the number of persons engaging in this behavior, the amount of

125 time they spend and the perceived consequences of the behavior. The evidence is inferential; it does not express actual times spent at drinking, actual payments for drinking, nor actual [124] quantities of alcohol consumed. Since the questions and responses were Tzeltal, the reports are at least appropriate in local terms.

126 In addition to the above data, a great deal of material on social roles and their relation to drinking and on the general beliefs and patterns of action in drinking performances has been extracted from native language texts. The text constitute a number of conversations between individuals in Aguacatenango, recorded on tape and then transcribed and translated into Spanish 124 by a bilingual informant. The conversations were at first unfocused; later, I instructed the informant who initiated all of the conversations to elicit a description of a recent illness in [121] the household of the other party. Drinking was not at that time my major interest, but its frequency and its close association with illness brought up the subject in over half of the conver- 126 sations. The taped records were made in a variety of settings 124 and under a range of constraining conditions; my general strategy was to go from house to house with my informant and to record his conversation with whoever was present and willing to talk. The best of the records share the feature that at least two Aguacatenangeros were present in the recording setting and knew

126
124
[122]

that they were present. I took no active part in the recording, since I could not speak Tzeltal and did not know the appropriate range of responses that the communication called up in the participants. None of the records are expressions of communication that would have taken place had I not chosen to make records. That is, the sessions were always initiated by me with the express intent of making records. This is reflected in the records by discussion of the tape recorder, of my performances associated with it, and so on. In addition, the content of some of the records is focused, as I have mentioned, on recent illnesses in the household. By and large, however, to some unmeasured and thus unknown degree, the communications in the records are reflexes of pressures on the speakers that endure far longer than the recording session, that are structured by the variable modes of linguistic expression, by the internal coherence of the domains of "content" that became the subject of the conversation, by recent experiences which are structured by the content of the domains, and by the previously well-defined social relationships existing between the speakers. Some evidence that the relationship between the informant and the other party to the conversation helped to structure the recorded communications is presented in a report to the National Science Foundation (Metzger 1961). Briefly the length of the conversation--i.e., the total number of words--was greater when the informant knew and/or liked the

124 126 other party than when he did not; the proportion of the total number of words which was spoken by the other party was greater when that person was older than the informant than when he was the same age, and younger persons spoke, relatively, even less. The frequent use of various terms of respect and ritual kinship between the informant and the other speaker also suggests that their other behavior in the recording situation takes these relationships into account.

12 [191] Our bilingual informant, Mariano Juarez, was trained in the field by N. A. McQuown in the phonemic transcription of Tzeltal. When he had completed the transcription of the tapes, I instructed hi to produce a translation in which the translation equivalents were to be forced into the Tzeltal frame of reference insofar as possible, using the vernacular Spanish as he knew it. The examples of text which appear herein should be understood to be Mr. Juarez' work. The fact that a native speaker of Tzeltal, who knew the general and idiosyncratic contexts in which the Tzeltal material appeared, did the translating guarantees as accurate a translation as possible. The always knotty problem of English glosses involves not only the depth of my understanding of the vernacular Spanish and its relation to the Tzeltal, but also the more general point, made recently by Conklin (1963), that the structure of English domains stands in no necessary relationship to the structure of domains of any other language. Frake (1961),

12 in his discussion of Subanun medical beliefs, speaks of English "glosses" for the Subanun structure of things--the glosses being understood to be proximate devices to give the reader a sense of the familiar. The major part of Frake's language of description lies in his use of hierarchically ordered, mutally exclusive classes as they are found in the native language. The following description of drinking performances in Aguacatenango, though loosely organized in comparison, is a first step in this direction. It is an approach to an "inside" view of drinking in Aguacatenango in that it makes extensive use of Tzeltal propositions and statements of relationship, drawn from the texts and verified or elucidated by eliciting procedures, in the construction of generalizations. The use of such statements in this account may make it easier for the reader to check my interpretations or for another ethnographer to verify, amplify, or revise my description.

128 In the chapters to follow, I shall deal with the relationships between drinking performances and the inventory of social roles (Chapter II), the role of drinking in conflict and its resolution (Chapter III), and in illness and curing (Chapter IV). In summary (Chapter V), I shall review the common elements of these instances of drinking in an attempt to show some aspects of the "meaning" of drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

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CHAPTER II

DRINKING PERFORMANCES AND SOCIAL ROLES

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554 The scheduling of drinking in Aguacatenango and the internal structure of individual drinking performances can be considered as a code in which information about the roles and statuses of individuals is communicated. A brief look at the inventory of social roles will provide essential background for the description of this code.

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562 The composition of the Aguacatenango household, in terms of age and sex of members, is patterned as follows: Persons in the household under twenty years of age may be of either sex and any age. The ages of members of this group, relative to each other, are minimally two years apart. Persons over twenty years of age stand in a special age relationship: There is approximately a fifteen-year minimum age difference between individuals of the same sex. Age differences between individuals of opposite sex are such that they will either be the same age or the age rule for same sex members will hold. Finally, there will be no more than one individual of each sex in any of these age slots in any household. An age-sex distribution of a house, then, looks like the following diagram.

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TABLE 1

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AGE-SEX MODEL OF MAXIMAL COMPLEMENT OF A HOUSE

Absolute Age = unmarried vs. married

	-20						+20			
	Minimal Relative Age--2 yr. units						(Minimal) Relative Age--15 yr. units			
Sex Indifferent	1	2	.	.	.	10	1	2	3	
	I	h	G	F	e	D	C	B	A*	Male
							c	b	a	Female

*A and a are mutually exclusive; if one is present the other is absent.

592 Such a description is hardly adequate for the definition of the complement of a house, though it describes fairly the potential age-sex slots that are there to be filled. We begin with this simply because the description is constructed of fairly readily available observables, namely, age and sex. The difficulty one encounters is that there are further defining properties of such a maximal collection of individuals who live in a house. Our informants will not let us assemble households barely

592 on the basis of the age and sex characteristics of the candidates, nor do they describe house membership in these terms.

592
614 The two principles in terms of which the Aguacatenangeros would describe the membership of the household are rules of relations. The first rule states that members of the house should be lineally related to some one or more other persons in the house through males. The second rule states that: if the first rule does not apply, then the person in the house is a spouse of one such person to whom the first rule does apply. From the diagram, then, we may construct--with the aid of these two rules and the convention that the "over-under twenty" contrast is equivalent to the "with spouse-without spouse" contrast.

1. A is married to a, but either A is dead or a is dead.
2. B is married to b, and B is a lineal descendant of A.
3. C is married to c, and C is a lineal descendant of B.
4. D through I are unmarried siblings and are the lineal descendants of (most probably) C.

This may be expressed in a slightly more convenient manner by the following expression.[1]

---

[104] [1]Capital symbol = male. Small symbol = female. = = married. - = offspring. o = sibling. Slash through letter = deceased. Slash between letters = no relation expressed between letters.

See A. K. Romney's forthcoming work on this subject.

592
614 1. A = a, but ~~A~~ or ~~a~~.

2. B = b, and A = a - B.

3. C = c, and B = b - c.

3. (D o e o F o G o h o I) and C = c - (D . . . I).

A full expression of the maximal household may then be written: A - B / B = b - C / C = c - (D o e o . . . I).

592 The maximal complement of a house expresses one configuration of the residence pattern. Variations in household composition consistent with this configuration occur where a household lacks members in certain age-sex positions--e.g., childless couples, widows, and couples with or without living children, living apart from their parents. The minimal complement of the household is two people, either of same or different generations; no individual lives alone.

One of the variations in household composition which is inconsistent with the above configuration is that of married
591 siblings, with their spouses, living in the same house. Generally speaking, the movement of individuals from one house to another takes place at the time of marriage or soon thereafter.
[582] Siblings marry in an order relative to their relative age, the oldest marrying first. If the marrying sibling is a male, he will bring his wife to live with him in his father's house. If the marrying sibling is a female, she will live with her husband in his father's house. If there are further males in the sibling

591 order, they will also marry and with their spouses live in the house of their father. In general, the older sibling moves out when a younger sibling marries (if not before). The youngest male sibling when he marries is not required to move--he takes "care of" his parents in their old age and becomes sole possessor of the house. The relatively older male siblings are established in houses of their own by the parents as close as can be managed to the parents' house.

Thus, there is discriminable clustering of male siblings in Aguacatenango. The youngest male sibling who is married lives in the parents' house and the older males live in houses which are immediately adjacent to his. The female siblings tend to be scattered more widely throughout the rest of the town.

591 592 562 Should the family fail to procreate male offspring, one of the daughters may remain in the parental home and bring in a husband to live with her there--they in turn become possessors of the house.

591 586 It is not unusual that marriages are broken off in the course of movement through the residence pattern. When such happens, the spouses return to their respective households of origin until remarriage. This reversal of residence pattern in the case of separation does not disturb the major pattern outlined above.

591 There are also cases where the youngest of the male siblings does not remain in the parental house, though this is

591 clearly an available option. The senior couple then live there
[768] by themselves until one of them dies, in which case the widow(er) moves to the house of some one of the children, or alternatively, the youngest son moves in to the parental house, closing his own.

These, then, constitute the modalities of the pattern of
591 residence movement which take place at or near the time of marriage in the preponderance of cases. Other de facto household compositions may be interpreted as variant forms of this pattern with the addition of further particular circumstances of little apparent generality.

We have suggested that the observer may understand something of the nature of household composition in Aguacatenango in terms of consanguineal and affinal relationships of the members involved. We see that individuals join existing households primarily through marriage to some member in the household and that new households are established as the potential marriage slots
571 in the existing household fill up. The organization of members
551 in the household as well as the membership in other enduring groups is expressed in part in terms of names which are assigned to individuals on the basis of absolute and relative characteristics they are perceived, and perceive themselves, to possess. These characteristics serve to define a membership potential for any individual and to exclude him effectively from alternative positions. They are used frequently in the course of interactions

571 551 between members of the community to identify persons in references--that is, persons who are not present in the conversation. From the speaker's point of view, they as unambiguously identify individuals as does naming the house in which they live. So, then, turning from a general consideration of the membership of houses, we now consider the variety of intersecting classes in terms of which the individuals in the houses may be identified. This listing will introduce the principal organizing features in the community, each of which will then receive separate treatment.

571 551 601 554 Terms of reference in Aguacatenango include (1) personal names; (2) relationship terms--kinship, ritual kinship or compadrazgo and other relationships of a more general nature; (3) "role names," which identify persons in terms of characteristics other than interpersonal relationships; and certain combinations of these three types.

551 <u>Personal names</u>

The major subclass of the set of personal names, identifiable as Christian names, is subdivided on the basis of sex; with a few exceptions, a particular Christian name is appropriate to males or to females but not to both. Christian names may be used with a possessive prefix, e.g. /H-MARIA/, "my Maria," to refer to children of the coordinating person. They can be made diminutive by the addition of /C'IN/, "little."

553 A pair of intersecting principles influences the Christian name which is assigned to a child by the male parent. An important factor in naming is the "saint's day," the parent choosing one of the several patron saints of the day of a child's birth. It appears that in general the name assigned to the child is selected in this way. The choice of one of the appropriate set of saints' names is further conditioned by the preference for assigning the name of some relative of the preceding generation, two such individuals with the same Christian and surnames then standing in a /HELOL/ relationship. The precise interaction of these principles--that is, which overrides the other under what circumstances--is the subject of further investigation.

551 Christian names may be used alone or with surnames in reference to persons; surnames are not used alone. The minor subclass of names which can be identified as surnames reflects family membership in that lineally related males and their female siblings share a surname. The spouses of these individuals will in general not share this surname, nor will they share a single surname among themselves. This distribution of surnames corresponds to the following statement: The offspring of a married couple receive the surname of the male parent.

Three variants on one or another aspect of the above distribution may be noted, though none of them occur in the corpus.

(1) There are contexts in which the Tzeltal surname is

551 transformed into a Spanish equivalent. Thus the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /*ENTIS/, may refer to himself and be referred to by others as /*ERNANDES/ as well as by the Tzeltal equivalent /*ENTIS/. The variables that determine this variation are unknown to us.

(2) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /MENTES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /MENTES TONTON/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is associated with males of the set of lineal kin. This is a low frequency occurrence variant and the conditions of its appearance are unknown to us.

(3) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of which has the surname /PERES/, will be referred to by two surnames in the order /PERES HWARES/. Comparison of these examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second surname is identical with the surname (as previously defined) of the mother. The contexts in which the father's surname plus mother's surname appear are in part determined by the demands of ladinos who prefer a pattern of surnames which resembles their own. So, for example, this variant pattern appears on birth and death certificates, on censuses, and on bills and receipts.

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Kin terms

Another class of terms of reference can be defined as kin. At the first descending (-1) generation, the basic terms are as follows:

TABLE 2

KIN, -1 GENERATION

	Criterial Attributes			
	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Absolute age	Relationship specified in head
/-*UNTIKIL/	∅	∅	∅	∅
/-*AL/	∅	F	∅	L
/-NIC'AN/	∅	M	∅	L
/-KEREM/	M	∅	A_1	∅
/-*AC'IX/	F	∅	A_1	∅
/-*ALAL/	∅	∅	A_2	∅

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Among the attributes of these terms, absolute age has two values--(1) older, and (2) younger. The absolute age indicated for /-*ALAL/ is from birth to about three years; that for /-KEREM/ and /-*AC'IX/ is from three to about sixteen years, except that the modifier /C'IN/ depresses the age of either of the latter to less than twelve.

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TABLE 3

MODIFIERS KIN -1 GENERATION

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Absolute Age	Other
Position 1			
C'IN	∅	despresses absolute age	
∅			
Position 2			
BA	∅	∅	specify order of birth among referent's own siblings
CEBAL			
etc.			
*ANZ(IL)	F	∅	occurs only with terms showing sex of coordinating individual (i.e. /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/)
∅	M	∅	
PATIL-K'OX	∅	expresses recent vs. relative remoteness of birth	
∅			
KUCBIL	∅	distinguishes "babe-in-arms" from "walking child" (with /-*ALAL/)	

601

Lineal relationship (L) is an attribute of only two of these terms, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, "own child" of a female and of a male, respectively. The special nature of these two terms is reflected in the fact that while all of the other terms in this set may occur either with or without a possessive prefix, /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ never occur unpossessed. While /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/ always refer to own children of a particular person, each of the other terms may refer, if possessed, to the child of any parent, the parent being specified by name or possessive affix, or, if unpossessed, simply to a child with relationship unspecified.

The terms of reference at the -1 generation are often accompanied by modifiers which express differences in absolute age, birth order, or sex. These modifiers and their attributes are shown in Table 3 (p. 20).

Position 2 modifiers may be preceded by a position 1 modifier, but no more than one position 2 modifier occurs at a time.

The reciprocals of -1 Generation terms are labeled +1 Generation and are shown in Table 4 (p. 22).

As in the case of most of the terms at -1 generation, lineality-collaterality is not a criterial attribute of these terms. However, /-TAT/ and /-ME*/ are appliedmarly exclusively to own parents of the coordinating individual, while /TATA*/ and

TABLE 4

KIN, +1 GENERATION

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[562]

	Sex of Referent	Relationship specified in head
-TAT	M	0
-TATA*	M	0
-ME*	F	0
-NANA*	F	0

/-NANA*/, though they may refer to parents, are used primarily to specify a class of persons (including collaterals, affinals, and non-kin) of the approximate age of parents.

Terms of reference at the 0 generation also lack lineality-collaterality as a criterial feature, and while they tend to refer to lineals and collaterals, they may refer to non-kin as well. The 0 generation terms are shown in Table 5 (p. 23).

Lineality-collaterality and kin-non-kin distinctions can be made in Tzeltal by using an appropriate complex term of reference. If one asks, /ME MAC'A TATA*/, "Who is the /TATA*/?," the informant may respond, /XI*LEL H-ME*/, "my mother's older brother." Lineal kin of 0 generation can be further specified as /MERO BANKIL-*ERMANO/ "true brother," or /HUN ME* HUN TAT/, "of one mother, one father." Use of these expressions to resolve ambiguity about the

TABLE 5

KIN, 0 GENERATION

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[562]

	Age relative to coordinating individual	Sex of Referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-BANKIL	0	M	M	ø
-XI*LKL	0	M	F	ø
-WIX	0	F	M/F	ø
-IHZ'IN	Y	M/F	M/F	ø

relationship of a previously mentioned individual is rare, and we are led to hypothesize that precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of kin terms of 0 and ± generations. Indeed, 0 and +1 generation terms without a possessive prefix are often used in combination with names or other reference terms to indicate the relative age of the referent (when he is older than the speaker). The ranking of these terms is shown in Table 6 (p. 24).

[554] The terms /TATIK/ and /ME*TIK/ are not used in reference to kin as such, but as a collective compound, /-ME*TIK + TATIK/, they may designate either "respected elders" or "curer" in the appropriate contexts.

As in the -1 generation, modifiers /C'IN/ "little" and /MUK'UL/ "big" operate in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress

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TABLE 6

AGE-STATUS IN KIN TERMS

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[561]

	M	F
Older	TATIK	ME*TIK
↓	TATA*	NANA*
	TAT	ME*
	TAT	NAN
Younger	BANKIL XI*LEL	WIX

or augment age. Thus, /X-C'IN+XI*LELAL/, "her little big-brother,' is used in reference to a boy, older than his sister (who is represented by /X-/) but younger than the speaker. /MUK'UL+BANKIL, "older brother," distinguishes an older brother much advanced in age, while /C'IN+TATA*/ may refer to an older brother of the approximate age of a parent.

The form /MUK'UL/ combines with /TAT/ and /ME*/, however, not merely to augment age, but to set apart the +2 lineal generation. The compounds and their reciprocals (the -2 generation lineals) are shown in Table 7 (p. 25).

While most terms of reference in the 0 and ± generations may be used to specify either linealy or collaterally related individuals and sometimes also affinal kin and non-kin, in the

TABLE 7

KIN, ±2 GENERATIONS

601
[562]

	Generation	Sex of referent	Sex of co-ordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-MUK'UL+TAT	+2	M	M/F	L
-MUK'UL+ME*	+2	F	M/F	L
-*IL+NIC'AN	-2	M/F	M	L
-*IL+*AL	-2	M/F	F	L

±2 generations, the terms are applied exclusively to lineals of the coordinating individual. (Like the -1 generation terms /-*AL/ and /-NIC'AN/, none of these terms occurs without the possessive prefix.)

TABLE 8

AFFINAL KIN (SPOUSES)

M	F
-MAMILAL	-*IHAM
~	~
~~-WINIKUL(=WINIKIL)~~	-*ANZ(ELAL)
~	~
-MARIDO	-C'IH+*AC'IX[a]

[a]This form is used only for a very young wife.

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601 The terms of reference for affinal kin share with the ±2 generation kin terms the feature that they are not used without designating the coordinating individual by a possessive prefix. The set of alternative reciprocals used to refer to spouses is shown in Table 8 (p. 25).

The remaining terms in the set are the following:

TABLE 9

AFFINAL KIN

[562]

	Criterial Attributes of Heads		
	Sex of referent	Sex of Coordinating individual	Generation
-MA+NEAL	M	M	+1
-ME*L+NEAL	F	M	+1
-MA+*ALIB	M	F	+1
-ME*L+*ALIB	F	F	+1
-BAL	M	M	0
-HAWAN	F	F	0
-MU*	F	M	0
-MU*	M	F	0
-NEAL	M	M/F	-1
-*ALIB	F	M/F	-1

601 The applicability of the affinal terms is limited to spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations other than these through some marriage tie (e.g., "brother's wife's brother," etc.) are encompassed by the terms of compadrazgo (see below).

Kin terms are often combined with each other or with per-
[561] sonal names to form complex terms of reference. We have mentioned the use of the unpossessed forms of kin terms of 0 and +1 generations with names to indicate age-status of the referent, as in /TATIK TABYANO/, "Octaviano (who is a respected elder)," and /WIX MARIA/, "Maria (who is the age of an elder sister to
[551] me)." Kin terms in their possessed forms are not specified by the personal name of the referent, as in the English usage, "my brother George." Further, simple possessed kin terms are not used to specify each other in a single utterance, although the identification of a person in terms of his several kin relationships to speaker and listener, or to either participant and some absent person, is common in complete conversations. (I.e., while a person may be referred to as "my brother" and as "your uncle" by the same speaker in the course of an extended conversation, the single utterance, "my brother, your uncle," does not
[551] occur.) Possessed kin terms are used with personal names in complex terms which identify the referent in terms of his rela-

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tionship to some other absent person (this coordinating person being identified in turn by name). Examples of this kind of reference are /Y-INAM H-MA-TAT/, "my father's wife (not my mother)," /X-NIC'AN HWAN/, "Juan's child," and /S-NEAL MA TATIX HOSE GOMES/ "(respected elder) Jose Gomez' son-in-law." An alternative to the possessive prefix--which is set off by a dash from the kin term in the examples--is an expression with /YU*N/ which is used exclusively in the identification of children of the coordinating person, as in /*AC'IX YU*N PEYRO/, "the girl of Pedro (Pedro's daughter)."

A special case of this coordinating construction is the use of a personal name following /S-TAT/, "his (her) father," or /S-ME*/, "his (her) mother," as in /S-TAT PEYRO/, "Pedro's father," and /S-ME*CUS/, "Jesus' mother." This combination is distinguished by the fact that, unlike simple kin terms, it is often specified by the name of the referent, as in /S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "Pedro's father, Eleuterio." Also, in contrast to simple kin terms, it is used to specify possessed kin terms, as in /H-BANKIL S-TAT PEYRO LUTERYO/, "my brother, Pedro's father, Eleuterio," and unpossessed kin terms of the age-status set, as in /TA(T) S-TA(T)-HWAN/, "(Mr.) Juan's father." It is also used to identify a referent through a second absent person, as in /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HWAN/, "the child of the father of Juan." Whether specified by the name of the referent or not, this construction

601 conforms to what has been termed teknonymy in the literature.
551 The occurrence of such an expression as /X-NIC'AN S-TAT HMAN/ led us to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for membership in the teknonymous construction. Informants agree that the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be hereafter distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

Terms of compadrazgo

601 The terminology of compadrazgo, ritual kinship, includes
608 the following forms which are shown in Table 10 (p. 30). The terms /-KUMPRE/ and /KUMRE/ are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /MUK'UL/ and /C'IN/, these modifiers serving as in kin terms of -1 generation to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating person.

608 The employment of /-KUMPRE/~/KUMRE/ in reference to known
602 siblings of speakers led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for compadrazgo relations. Informants state that a

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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TABLE 10

COMPADRAZGO

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	Criterial Attributes		
	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-KUMPRE	M	∅	∅
-KUMRE	F	∅	∅
-NIC'AN+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	M	-1
-*AL+SNARYOS-*IHADA	∅	F	-1
-TAT+SNARYOS-PAGRINO	M	∅	+1
-ME*+SNARYOS-MAGRINA	F	∅	+1

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person may establish the /-KUMPRE/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Related individuals frequently become compadres--particularly as siblings of the father or the mother are often chosen as padrinos (godparents) of a child--and compadre relationships established at weddings (see below) involve some affinally related individuals (e.g., "brother's wife," "sister's husband") for whom kin terms are reported. Where the person stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /BANKIL/) to the speaker, the compadrazgo relationship assumes priority over the kin term in reference (as well as in address). These two

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[602]

608 sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single term of
601 reference does not include both /H-KUMPRE/ and /H-BANKIL/, although /H-BANKIL/ may occasionally occur as an alternative term of reference succeeding /H-Kumpre/ in an interchange in which
601 the first term was unclear to the listener. However, /-KUMPRE/
608 does occur in complex terms of reference in which, like kin
551 terms, it is specified by a teknonymous construction, e.g., /H-KUMPRE S-TAT MIGEL DANYEL/, "my compadre the father of Miguel, namely Daniel." Unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ does not combine with personal names in the coordinating constructions of which the teknonymous is one type (i.e., we do not find such a term as "Juan's compadre").

Alos, unlike kin terms, /-KUMPRE/ may be specified by a personal name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE BISENTI/, or by a "role" name, e.g., /H-KUMPRE PRESIDENTE/, "my compadre the president." (The terms of compadrazgo of +1 generations, relatively infrequently used, always occur alone.)

601 The terms of compadrazgo may be further specified as
608 follows:

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	/ .... YU*N *IC HA*/, "of baptism"	/ ... YU*N KOMPRE-MASYON/, "of confirmation"	/ ... YU*N NUH-PUNEL/, "of marriage"	/ ... YU*N S*AN NINYO/, "of Christmas"
/H-KUMPRE/ /H-KUMRE/	x	x	x	x
/H-TAT+SNARYOS/ /H-ME*+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-
/H-NIC'AN+SNAR-YOS/ /K-AL+ SNARYOS/	x	x	*	-

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Both baptism and confirmation involve ritual relationships across generations. The padrinos (H-TAT+SNARYOS/, etc.) chosen for the child on these occasions become compadres (/-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/) of the child's parents and, sometimes, of the child's paternal grandparents as well.

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The traditional (in contrast to church) wedding, on the other hand, establishes no cross-generation ritual relationships. The parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-KUMPRE/ ~ /KUMRE/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-KUMPRE/ ~ /-KUMRE/,

585 608 sometimes modified by /MUK'UL/ or /C'IN/ as previously shown.
601 602 When, in addition to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of padrinos (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become compadres in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /-TAT+SNARYOS~PAGRINO/ and /-ME*+SNARYOS~MAGRINA/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-NIC'AN+SNARYOS—IHADA/ and /-*AL+SNARYOS~*IHADA/) and as /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

796 608 The fiesta of Noche Buena establishes /-KUMPRE/~/-KUMRE/ relations, and no others, between the host of the fiesta and a few other individuals he invites to sponsor the fiesta.

Other relationship terms

571 192 There remains a set of terms which, when used with possessive prefixes, identify the referent in terms of a more general relationship to some coordinating person. These terms are as follows:

(1) /HOY/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific kin; and all of the specified kinds of companion below)

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(2) /HOY TA YAKBEL/, "drinking companion"

(3) /HOY TA *A*TEL/, "working companion"

(4) /HOY+YAXBEN/, "traveling companion"

(5) /*AMIGO/, "friend"

(6) /BESINO/ /NAHPAL NOCOL/, "neighbor"

(7) /-KONTRA/ /-*ENEMIGO/, "enemy"

(8) /-*AHWAL/, "boss"

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and compadrazgo relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /HOY/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or compadre to the coordinating individual, though in any given reference term only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of kin and compadrazgo terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

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These general relationship terms combine with names, terms of compadrazgo, and teknonymous constructions, both in terms where the second form specifies the first, e.g. /HOYTIK SIRIL HWARES/, "our companion Cirilo Juarez," and in terms where the second form refers to a cocrdinating person, /S-HOY S-MAGRINA/, "her madrina's companion." The general relationship terms share with kin terms the feature that in complex terms they are always the first of the two forms; terms of compadrazgo combine with

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these two sets of terms only as the second term but always precede names, role names, and teknonymous constructions. General relationship terms are like the terms of compadrazgo in that they may be specified by a personal name (as above).

"Role names"

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The set of terms to which we apply the label "role names" is distinguished by the fact that these terms usually occur unpossessed and are not defined in terms of a relationship to some person. While they occasionally have possessive prefixes, they never occur in the third person in coordinating constructions. Also, when possessed, these forms always carry the agentive prefix /-H-/, which is optional in the unpossessed variants. Thus:

Unpossessed	Possessed
/PRESIRENTE/ /H-PRESIRENTE/ "presidente"	/*AW-AH-PRESIRENTE/ "your presidente"
/H-*UL/ "curandero"	/*AW-AH-*UL/ "your curandero"

Among the forms in this class is /(H)KAX(1)AN(-ETIK)/, "ladinos (as a class)," which contrasts with the elicited from /H-TUL H-LUMAL/, "one of my pueblo (Aguacatenango)." (Both forms are included under the headword /KRISTYANO-ETIK/, "human being," which contrasts with /CAMBALAM-ETIK/, "animals," and /TUTU-TIK/, "things.")

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The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /H-TUL YAN LUM/, "one of another pueblo" in reference as well to persons other than ladinos. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the [829] informants when differentiating themselves from ladinos is:

/H-TUL LUMAL/	/KAXLAN/
/POBR-ETIK/	/K'ULEHETIK/
"the poor ones"	"the rich ones"

Among other forms of the class is a series which repre- [756] sents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers:

/H-*UL~H-POXTAWAN(EH)~H-*AK'-POX/~/H-ME*TIK+TATIK/

which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /PIK C'IC'/ "pulsing." A contrasting form /H-*OKTOR/, "doctor," marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations." The form /*OKTOR/ differs from the others in this subset in that it may also be used as a modifier, as in /*OKTOR PEYRO/, "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian nurse) and /*OKTOR+KAXLAN/, "ladino doctor."

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Other terms in the "role-name" class cannot conveniently be lumped under a descriptive head. Some might perhaps be labeled "occupational," but this would result in merely grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to the ethnographer. In this heterogeneous group are the following, all of which have the agentive prefix.

/H.KANAN+LUM/	"overseer of land"
/H.PRINSEPAL KRINSIPAL/	"principal, elder"
/H.GOBYERNO/	"governor (of the state)"
/H.ME*BAL/	"orphan"
/H.LO*LIWANEH/	"liar"

Another subgroup of terms lacks possessive or agentive prefixes, and these share the feature that the referents are persons outside the Indian community. These terms are the following:

/COHWER/	"driver"
/DOKTOR/	"doctor"
/DOKTOR+DENTISTA/	"dentist"
/KARPINTERA/	"carpenter"
/MASTRI/	"teacher"

Two other terms in this class are exceptions to the rule that requires the agentive prefix when possessed; /-*ANZ/, "woman," and /-WINIK/, "man," may be used with the possessive prefix alone,

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554 and the meanings of the possessed forms are "wife" or "husband"
192 of the coordinating person.

The remainder of the forms in this class are subsumed under the headword /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/, "workers."

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554 On the next lower level of contrast, the headword is
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621 modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers /TA KABILTO/, "in the cabildo (civil)"; /TA MARTOMIL/, "in the mayordomía (religious)." These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms. The set of contrasting forms in the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ is as follows (in order of ascending rank):

/MAYOR/, "policía" ranked from /XWAXKEBAL/, "eighth," to /BA/, "first" or /HEFE DE KWARTEL/

/SINTIKO/, "síndico"

/REHIDOR/, "regidor" ranked from /XCEBAL/ "second" to /BA/ "first"

/XCEBAL REHIMAL/, "second regimal"

/BA REHIMALA ~ SUPLENTE PRESIRENTE/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"

/PRESIRENTE ~ *AHENTE (MUNISIPAL)/, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/XCEBAL HWES/, "second juez"

/HWES/ ~ /*ALKAL/, "juez"

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554 (Several forms not included in this set are nevertheless part of
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621 the civil administration--/SEKRETARYO/, "secretary," /PRESIRENTE DE EDUKASYON/, "supervisor of education," and /KOMISARYADO *EYHIDAL/, "ejido commissioner.")

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms
[641] the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as a civil cargo holder four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed.

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554 The forms of the class /H.*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are
192 grouped as follows (also in order of ascending rank):
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The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO/	"mayordomo of San Antonio"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario"
/MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD/	"mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the mayordomía.

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554 The saint's name associated with each is that one for whose fiesta
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794 the mayordomo is primarily responsible. The second and next lowest set of positions includes:

/MARTOMO *ANIMA/	"mayordomo of Todos Santos"
/MARTOMO SAN MARTIN/	"mayordomo of San Martin"

The third set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SANTA CRUS/	"mayordomo of Santa Cruz"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN/	"mayordomo of San Sebastian"

In turn, for each of the saints, there are two mayordomos, ranked relative to each other, the higher in rank being the:

/BA MARTOMO/	"1st mayordomo"

and the other being the:

/CE*BAL MARTOMO/	"2nd mayordomo"

The /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the mayordomía, and two /MARTOMO-ETIK/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on the saint's

571 554 192 [794] day for which they serve. Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /MARTOMO/ positions before he is freed from any further performaces of this sort, and as was pointed out earlier, these positions must be held earlier.

The various forms of the "role-name" set most often occur as simple terms of reference, often modified by status terms. However, the combination /H-KUMPRE SEKRETARYO/ "my compadre, the secretary" is reported.

Modifiers

In addition to the basic classes of terms of reference, modifiers are important in identifying persons. Among these are enumerators, diminutives (mentioned above), and demonstratives. Two modifiers establish the physical condition of the referent-- [602] /CAM/ and /*AN(I)MA/, both glossed as "dead." One, /MERO/, noted earlier, distinguishes "legitimate" or "real" relationship from terminological equivalence, as in /MERO *ERMANO/, "true brother." 571 554 561 192 [562] Two, differing only by sex of referent, indicate advanced age: /MA MAMAL/ "old" (male referent) and /ME*L/, "old" (female referent). When these two modifiers are used with terms indicating younger persons, the incongruity expresses depreciation or derogation. Other modifiers, most of which are age-status terms like the special kin terms discussed earlier, include the following:

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554 /C'UL/ "holy" honorific titles used with
561 /SENYOR/ "mister" role-names of the
192 /H.*A*TEL-ETIK/ group

/YAN/ "other"

/NEX/ "big"

/SOLTERA/ "unmarried" used with /KEREM/ "boy" and /*AC'IX/ "girl" primarily to establish precise age-status (adolescence)

/DON DONYA/ "mister mrs." used with names of ladinos

/NINYA/ "miss"

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192 Still another set of modifiers occurs after the noun head rather than before and includes internally complex phrases. These might be termed locatives, and they include /NUN/ "there," /LI*/ "here," and such combinations as /NUN TA HEHC/, "there on the other side (i.e., in the other barrio of Aguacatenango)"; /LI* TA *ALAN/, "here below (i.e., in El Puerto, a closely related village down the mountain)"; /LI* TA TEHKLUM/, "here in the pueblo"; /LI* TA PAT NA/, "here behind the house"; /NUN TA *AHK'OL/, "here above"; and /NUN TA XOHLEH/, "there at the corner."

While the subject of the relationships (position and co-occurrence) between modifiers and between modifiers and noun heads will be deferred until a forthcoming paper, some general

571 idea about the use of modifiers can be gained from a brief list
192 of examples. These examples are also illustrative of some of the complexity of personal reference in Aguacatenango.

/TE CAM MA TATIK HOSE GOMES/	"the late old Mr. Jose Gomez"
/MA TA(T) S-TA(T) CUS KAYTANO/	"old Mr. Jesus' father, Cayetano"
/H-MA KUMPRE S-TAT CEN/	"my old compadre, Cresencio's father"
/ME*L WIX PETRONA MENTES/	"old (elder sister) Petrona Mendez"
/S-ME*L *INAM/	"his old wife"
/ME*L ME* ZME* H.PINI/	"old Mrs. Delfina's mother"
/H-KUMPRE S-TAT KANT(E)LARYA	"my compadre, Candelario's father here above"
/BANKIL LUTERYO NUN TA *AHK'OL/	"(elder brother) Eleuterio here above"
/TATIK SINTIKO NUN TA *ALAN/	"Mr. Sindico there below"
/SENYOR *AHENTE/	"Mr. agente"
/MA DON MANWEL/	"old Don Manuel"

571 The patterns of social relationships are displayed in the order and arrangement of individuals in households and in the sets of role-names which frequently occur in the conversa-

571 tions of community members. We now propose to display some of the ways in which further sets of performances, among them drinking, are associated with those already described.

Roles and the procurement of alcohol

273* 571 178 The procurement of alcohol for drinking involves social relationships which have undergone a change within the period of study. Traditionally, Aguacatenangueros have obtained 273* 439 aguardiente--a distilled sugar cane alcohol--by purchase. For many years aguardiente was manufactured by ladinos in San Cristobal and in Comitan principally for sale to the Indians. Before 1940, one ladino family established a liquor monopoly throughout the highlands and with the aid of government liquor inspectors was able to close down all competitors, which meant that production in Comitan and San Cristobal was completely stopped save for the factories of this family. In the first part of this period, then, Aguacatenangueros bought all their aguardiente from Comitan, and it was and still is known as 273* 548 comiteco by Indians and ladinos throughout the area. With the closing down of the several factories that produced aguardiente, Indians--principally Chamulas--began to manufacture the aguardiente in clandestine stills in mountain areas that were apparently difficult to patrol. [435] The monopoly determined price of about 90 pesos a garafón (18 liters) was cut nearly in half by these clandestine operators.

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438 With the closing of the stills in Comitan came a second economic pressure which sharply changed the Aguacatenangueros' pattern of travel. The trade specialty which Aguacatenango had intensively developed, at least by 1920 and perhaps long before, was the weaving of palm hats. A principal point of trade for these hats was Comitan where the Aguacatenangueros took them.

294 With the advent of the Pan-American highway, the region was
438 flooded with nationally manufactured sombreros, which, in the
439 period of ten years completely destroyed the Aguacatenango mar-
438 ket. As the marketability of palm hats decreased, the Agua-
439 catenangueros stopped going to Comitan; and it was during this
+273 same time that the supply of comiteco was cut off.

432 The people from Aguacatenango then began to buy their
438 aguardiente from licensed sellers in Pinola (Villa las Rosas)
+273 and Teopisca as well as from clandestine sources, the nearest being in Amatenango and the mountainous area that lay between
548 there and Chanal. The use of clandestine aguardiente was still
687 restricted by the occasional inspection by patrols of soldiers and liquor inspectors who would examine the contents of the houses in Aguacatenango, confiscating the aguardiente for which one did not have a legitimate receipt and taking the holders of such to jail in San Bartolomé de los Llanos. By the end of the 40's, distillation technology had disseminated widely enough among the Indian municipios that a few men in Aguacatenango began

548 687 distilling aguardiente. Distillation of aguardiente continued for a relatively short time (perhaps as long as three to four years) because satisfactory arrangements could not be worked out within the community so that the distillers would not be denounced to the authorities by their neighbors. Unlike Amatenango, where the clandestine distillation of aguardiente continues to the present time, inspectors were able to discover and destroy the four or five stills operated by the men of Aguacatenango. The punishments meted out to the owners were relatively severe, some having to spend as long as a year in jail and having to pay as much as 1000 pesos to secure their release.

273+ [178] The pattern of procurement of aguardiente has changed substantially in Aguacatenango since the time we began doing [432] field work there. In 1957, when we were first there, the buying of aguardiente was both situation-and-family-specific. Most of the aguardiente was being bought in Pinola and later in Teopisca and had to be carried on one's back to Aguacatenango. In an- [796] ticipation of each fiesta or other occasion where it was known drinking would take place, each family would bring in three or four liters for that occasion. Beyond this family supply, there was relatively little aguardiente in the community. It was not at all unusual, after a fiesta, to see men inquiring all over town about the possibility of buying, or borrowing, a liter of

273* aguardiente. And it was not unusual that they were unable to secure a single liter. In fact, it appears that the termination of drinking performances was in no small amount controlled by
273* the exhausting of the community supply of aguardiente. What re-
432 sale there was of aguardiente in the community was carried on
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589 by widows who might secure as much as five to six extra liters to resell to men who wished to continue drinking after their own supplies were exhausted. As a business venture, a widow would buy for three pesos the liter which she would sell for five, gaining thus ten pesos every month or six weeks.

273* At the fiesta of the patron saint, ladinos would bring
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439 in a supply of aguardiente to be sold. The large number of people coming from the neighboring towns made this a profitable
[191] venture for the three or four days of the fiesta. In order to
[216] increase the sale of the aguardiente (and other distilled beverages, as well as beer), ladino vendors set up cantina complexes in the plaza, the cantina consisting of a thatch or canvas shelter, a few tables and chairs, and principally a tocadisco--a loudspeaker system connected to a phonograph as well as a microphone, so that music and announcements could be made which
275 could be heard from blocks around. Typically in this cantina
216
191 pattern, a man from Aguacatenango would sit down with a few friends, drink a liter or two of aguardiente, and during this period, request that pieces be played on the tocadisco for which

275 216 191 he paid twenty centavos and in return for which payment his name was announced over the loud speaker as well as the name of a person to whom he might wish to "dedicate" the piece.

275 216 191 178 In 1959, there occurred a set of circumstances which permitted the Aguacatenangueros to gain control of the elements of the cantina complex, and in this year cantinas were established permanently in Aguacatenango. As the result of some difficulties in Pinola, the cantineros there were required by the town government to sell or otherwise get rid of their tocadiscos. [432] And three or four of them sold their tocadiscos to the men in Aguacatenango. These gas generator-driven units were set up in various yards in the community, the loudspeakers were mounted on tall poles as is the custom in the neighboring towns, and men came to these door yards when they were drinking to request [171] pieces be played with appropriate dedicatory remarks. The cantineros in Aguacatenango then simply filled out the rest of the cantina complex as they had seen it in the plaza.

442 275 432 439 They began to buy aguardiente by the garafón, most of it from clandestine distillers in the neighboring towns who deliver it to the buyers, and also beer and other distilled beverages, these being delivered by San Cristóbal distributors or bought and transported there by cantineros.

275 Thus the retailers of alcohol drunk by Aguacatenangueros are no longer ladinos and local widows, but local men. Some of

275 178 434 736 Some of the effects of this change can be seen in the growing wealth of cantineros, observable in changes in house construction, and a shift to the raising of small livestock (always an alternative strategy) by women who must support themselves. With regard to *273 178 drinking performances, the effect of the change in retailers seems to have been an increase in the number of drinking performances--especially for boys and young men, whose limited ceremonial responsibilities have made them relatively infrequent drinkers in the past. In turn, the increase in the number of drinking situations has required slight modification in the timing of the drinking--men seem to drink for shorter periods of time. Thus, for example, drinking on Sunday is becoming more common, but the continuation of drinking on a second day (Monday) has decreased. These matters will be spelled out in more detail in later sections.

<u>Age-sex distribution of drinking</u>

273* [434] Aguardiente is bought by men who have control of money, [562] and it is drunk almost exclusively by them. Women drink rarely, [858] and it is considered inappropriate for them to do so. Children [883] do not drink at all; boys begin to drink on festive occasions at fifteen or sixteen, and it is probably relevant that by this time they are old enough to work for wages and usually have some money of their own. Old men often give up drinking except when, as of-

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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*273 887 621 Old men often give up drinking except when, as office holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking performances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle

273* 539 are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:

HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* 571 Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than alone. The importance of companions in the development of a

273* 539 571 drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

273* 539 571 HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOY XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

273* 571 [24] The most frequent response to the question, "How do you begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

273* 571 individuals), and occasionally one's children. The close association of drinking with household rituals--birth, baptism, marriage, illness and death, the building of a new house, the settling of disputes--is consistent with this pattern, for it is kinsmen and neighbors (often also compadres) who participate in these rituals. Men who are not related become involved together in drinking performances by virtue of the fact that certain roles--those of officeholders in the civil and religious hierarchies--entail ceremonial drinking by definition. Alternatively, men who are not friends or relatives may drink together whenever they choose to continue drinking after their closer companions have stopped. Individual patterns of drinking vary. Of the seventy-six men asked how long they usually continue drinking, once they have begun, six reported that they drink less than a day, thirty-four that they drink a full day or a day and a night, nineteen that they drink two or three days, and nine that they drink four days or more. Thus about 40 per cent of the men questioned reported that once they engage in a drinking performance, they continue drinking for two days or more. This being the case, it is fairly likely that some or all of one's drinking companions of the first day of drinking have chosen to sober up on the second day. The man who cannot find friends to drink with must either stop drinking himself or relax his restrictions on the characteristics of drinking companions. The

273* 571 social distance between drinking companions increases with the length of time from the original drinking situation, and one finds men who live great distances apart and even men from opposite barrios (who are afraid of each other when sober) sharing a bottle of aguardiente as the days go by.

273* 621 571 Aguacatenango men drink largely within the community, and even when men drink in market towns such as Pinola or Teopisca they tend to drink with their traveling companions and not with ladinos. (The one or two reports of Aguacatenangueros drinking with ladinos involved fully bilingual individuals, and they ended with fighting or loss of property by the Aguacatenango men.)

273* 182 Drinking in Aguacatenango is scheduled in terms of the calendar of saints' days and by the occurrence of critical events in the life cycle of individuals--e.g., birth, baptism, marriage (and sometimes divorce), and death. Drinking is also an essential part of the resolution or the escalation of conflict, of illness and curing, of the branding of livestock and of the consecration of new buildings. Participation in a particular drinking cycle is largely determined by--and signifies--an individual's membership in a household group, in the civil or the religious hierarchy, or in the larger, highly relational role set including bilateral kindred, ritual kinsmen, and neighbors. Participation in drinking cycles is restricted to adult

273* Participation in drinking cycles[54] is restricted to adult
562 males, and in fact participation signals that such persons are
885 indeed adult males. These are some of the things that participation in drinking cycles "means."

273* Types of drinking cycles

Particular instances of the drinking cycle differ in the degree of "formality" of their organization.

Ceremonial drinking

The full expression of a ceremonial drinking cycle has a number of performance correlates which permit its identification. While it is generally true that ceremonial drinking, in contrast to "informal" drinking, is specifically initiated as a part of one of the rituals just mentioned, its most crucial, i.e., unambiguous characteristic is a formal speech which a senior male of the sponsoring group makes to the receiving group. This speech is responded to with equal formality by a senior male of the receiving group. There are several examples in text of this particular interchange between the sponsor and the receiver. An example of one of these, as reported by Lorenzo Mendez, is given below.

273* *E TYOS KUMPRE, *AK'A LAH PERTON, BA* LA HZO*BEX TALEL, BA*
539 LA HYOMEX TALEL HZ'INUK, H*A K'UK, TA STI*IL HME*BAL HWOKOL. BWENO, SOYOK KALTIK HNIC'ANTIK.

Ay, dios, compadre, excuse me. I have brought you here, gathered you here for a moment, for a little while, at the door of my poor house, with my children and grandchildren.

273* 539 TUTA *AY TUT'A LA HTABE TYOS SOYOK KAL HNIC'ANTIK TA C'UL BALAMILAL, MA LA XU* KUC' HTUKEL.

What I have, what I have obtained with God's help, along with my children, in this world, I cannot take it myself.

MA XU* HTUNTES HTUKEL, *AY LAH HME*, *AY LA HTAT, SOK HKUMPAGRE TA BA* ZOBOLOTIK YOMOLTIK, KIK'EX TAL HZ'INUK H*AK'UK.

I cannot serve myself alone. I have my mother, my father, my compadre. Here they are together, I have called them together for a moment, for a little while.

HBAL HMAY, HBAL SIGARRO, ME XYAL, ME MA XYAL TA *AWO*TANIK, TU YIPAL LA HTABE TYOS TA HME*BAL HWOKOL.

Some tobacco, a cigarette, let it go down or not go down in their hearts, that which I have accumulated with God's help, here in my poor house.

HA* YU*UN TY YIPAL LAH KIK'AT HZ'INUK H*AK'UK, KAHWAL TAT ME*, HKUMPAGRE PUES *AK'A PERTON KUMPAGRE, ME XYAL, MA XYAL TA *AWO*TAN HBAL HMAYTIK, HBAL SIGARROTIK KUMPAGRE.

For this reason I have invited you here for a moment, a little while, respected comadre and compadre, excuse me, let us see if it goes down or does not go down in your heart, our tobacco, our cigarette, compadre.

The response to this formal speech is made by one of the elder guests and goes as follows:

E TYOS KUMPAGRE, BA LAH ME LAH *AWIC', BA* LAH ME TAL *AWU*UN.

Ah, compadre, where did you get the wealth? Where did you bring it from?

MA*YUK TUT'A HK'ANTIK, MA*Y TU'TA HLOK'ESTIK, LA *AWIK'OTIK TALEL, BA* LA *AZO*BOTIK TALEL, HOKOL AWALTIK.

We aren't asking for anything, we don't want to take anything from you. You invited us, you brought us together. Thank you very much.

273* [329]

MA* ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWO*TAN, MA* *ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWAHC' ALEL, LA *ANA* BA*Y AHE*, LA *ANA* BA*Y ATAT, KUMPAGRE, HOKOL AWALTIK, KUMPAGRE, KALEBON XC'IN WINKLEL.

You didn't use your wealth by yourself, you didn't consume it by yourself. You remembered your mother, your father, your compadre. Thank you, compadre. Find someone to pour the drinks.

This exchange initiates the ceremonial drinking sequence. (The sequence is composed of a series of acts; a set of drinking sequences constitutes a drinking cycle.) Upon the termination of the speeches, the owner of the aguardiente asks a junior male to take a proffered liter bottle of aguardiente and a shot glass and offer a drink to each of the men present.

The server must initiate the act of drinking with every other male in the group. Whatever the quantity of aguardiente in the liter bottle, it must be equally distributed among all those present including himself. The drink server must estimate the amount of aguardiente in the bottle and fill the shot glass accordingly. The relative order of initiating the drinking act with the several persons present must proceed from persons of greater rank to persons of lesser rank. As has been suggested in the role inventory, there is a near-perfect correlation between age and rank in Aguacatenango. Hence, the oldest male present is served first and the youngest male present is served next to last, the drink pourer himself being served last. Since the drink server is a junior male, his relative position of

273* 554

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drinking is not far from his actual position--that is, he would have been served near the end of the drinking sequence in any case. (It may be the case that the depression of his status by being served last is compensated for by the fact that a person of senior status, the host, serves him.)

When the drink server has offered a drink to each man in the group, he returns the bottle to its owner, and the owner initiates the drinking act with the drink server. This act terminates the drinking sequence. After it is terminated, no drinking acts take place for a period of time generally as long as the drinking sequence itself. All drinking acts, then, take place within drinking sequences.

The relative positioning of drinking acts in the drinking sequence distinguishes the participants by rank. In such a context, the isolatable drinking act encodes one's own rank relative to all other persons present, or, alternatively, each person's rank relative to every other. In the drinking sequence the drinking act assumes symbolic value. It measures one's status. It takes on a code value on the dimension of status. The drinking sequence is a message, then, which encodes an individual's rank, the particular value of rank in this message being determined by the position in the message which any particular individual's coded value falls.

Many if not most of the inferences that human beings draw

273* 554 about the state of their environment are deduced as the result of the communication of information encoded in some one or more media. The determination and certification of an individual's social rank is one type of inference and action that individuals engage in in Aguacatenango. Rank and role are not only encoded in the drinking performances, but also in a variety of other media as well. When we examine the ceremonial drinking cycle as it occurs in the civil and religious hierarchies, it becomes clear that the arrangement of persons in space, modes of greeting, modes of offering toasts, the differential access to settings, etc., all may encode an individual's social position just as do the set of role labels that may be used to identify him.

[518] [609] [596] [621] After the settlement of a dispute, after having agreed to permit a /HTUL YAN LUMAL/, "foreigner," to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days (especially those saints associated with the installation of new civil officers), the /*A*TELETIK TA KABILTO/, or civil hierarchy, is given or secures for itself aguardiente in liter bottles. The aguardiente is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /*A*TELETIK/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or alternative should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing it to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the

273* 554 pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern.

The drink pourer, who is one of the /REHIDOR-ETIK/, proceeds directly to the /HWES/. The REHIDOR/ carefully pours the drink, picking any dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual. The /HWES/ then offers the drinking salute: /LISENSYA TAT/, "With your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /*OCAN TAT/, or alternatively /*OCAN TATA*/, "down it, sir," or, "down it, respected sir." The drink pourer /REHIDOR/ then proceeds to serve succeeding persons down the rank order. The rank order may be observed in the seating arrangements displayed in Table 11 (p. 60). Beginning at the door, the relative order of succession is down the page, through the position /SINTIKO/. Then the position just above the door is served and so on through an adjacent succession through the position of /XWAXKEBAL MAYOR/.

*273 796 794 554 One of the important performance correlates of the role of mayordomo is to engage in the drinking of aguardiente. Almost without exception, the mayordomos as a group drink themselves into a state of deep drunkenness on each of the seven fiesta days. The initiation of the drinking takes place on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos as-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

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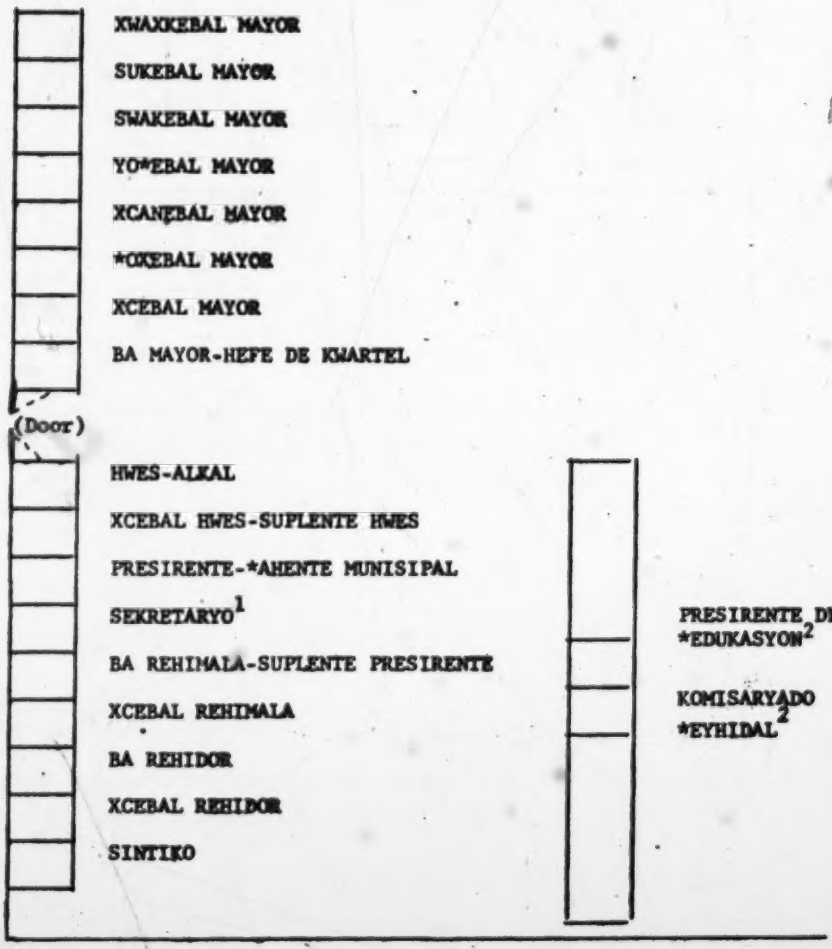
TABLE 11

273*
621
554

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK" WITHIN /*A*TEL-ETIK TA KABILTO/: SEATING ORDER



[1]The position of secretary is by appointment and is not included in the civil hierarchy.

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TABLE 11--Continued

000 not included in the civil hierarchy.

273* [2]The positions of president of education and ejido
621 commissioner are two-year appointments, and neither is (yet)
554 in the civil hierarchy.

273* semble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two
796
794 benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:
554

TABLE 12

SOME PERFORMANCE CORRELATES OF "RANK": SEATING ORDER OF /*A*TEL-ETIK TA MARTOMIL/

BA MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAKRAMENTO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK ROSARYO

XCEBAL MARTOMO ROSARYO

BA MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

XCEBAL MARTOMO ME*TIK NATIBIDAD

BA MARTOMO *ANIMA

XCEBAL MARTOMO *ANIMA

BA MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN MARTIN

BA MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

XCEBAL MARTOMO SANTA CRUS

BA MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

XCEBAL MARTOMO SAN SEBSTYAN

273* 796 794 554 The drinking of aguardiente takes place on the porch after the men are seated. Again the aguardiente is distributed in shot glass amounts to each member of the mayordomía. Again, as in the case of the civil officials, a strict relative order of succession of drinking is followed, proceeding from the top of Table 12 (p. 61) to the bottom.

273* 621 794 554 In both the referential sets of civil officials and religious officials, then, there are occasions when both seating arrangements and drinking arrangements uniquely express a relative order property in the relations between members of each set. This relative order property we can call <u>differential rank</u>. While this type of rank is a somewhat special case, it is essentially the same age differential which establishes rank in [561] the community at large. The civil and religious hierarchies are very nearly age-graded, the higher-ranking positions being occupied by older men. A survey of the histories of individuals' cargos indicates that the age grading is more strict in the case of the mayordomos than in the case of the civil officials. In each set of officials, men with adjacent ranks sit next to each other and drink in succession, the man with the higher rank sitting in an arbitrarily defined higher position on the bench and drinking sooner. It is important to note that of a variety of ways in which the aguardiente could be used to express the rank difference (e.g., the distribution of larger amounts to the senior

273* positions), only relative order of drinking is used. It is the
621
794 arbitrary selection of order as the medium of communication of
554
roles and ranks that leads us to describe drinking performances as a code.

*273 We have observed that on the occasion of ceremonial
621
794 drinking, not only will the relative age differences of the
554
561 adult males be expressed in the relative order in which they are served aguardiente, but so also will they arrange themselves spatially in such a way that the drink server will be able to meet the obligation of serving the older person first without skipping anyone in the seating order. In other words, men, in the first stages of ceremonial drinking, will arrange themselves in order of relative age-rank, and thus receive in perfect spatial and temporal succession the aguardiente which they drink.

273* The ceremonial drinking sequence is associated with the
621
794 presence of a marimba which plays throughout the course of the
554
533 fiesta and the departure of which signals the termination of the same. While the marimba players are paid to play at the fiesta, with regard to the consumption of aguardiente they are treated as are all other males who are present. In some cases, they will be offered drinks with greater frequency to begin with, as it is supposed by the host that they will play more frequently and will charge less if they are somewhat intoxicated.

000 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated

273* 262 The ceremonial drinking sequence is regularly associated with the serving of food by the sponsors to the guests. The alternate possibilities are included in the following table:

TABLE 13

FOODS AND BEVERAGES ACCOMPANYING CEREMONIAL DRINKING

	Food	Beverage
[272]	Beans	coffee
tortillas and	chicken broth with a chunk of chicken	aguardiente
	beef broth with a chunk of beef	chocolate
	turkey broth with a chunk of turkey	

The relative prestige of the food served increases with the descending order.

273* The duration of a ceremonial drinking cycle is well-defined. It does not last beyond an eight-hour period, in general. Its termination is marked, as has been noted above, by the departure of the marimba from the scene and by the fact that the host ceases to serve aguardiente. Individuals who continue to drink after the ceremonial cycle is terminated do so under informal drinking rules.

273* Informal drinking

An informal drinking cycle may be initiated on a saint's
273* day or on the day following a ceremonial drinking cycle. An
574 individual may also initiate an informal cycle on the occasion of some personal crisis--e.g., desertion by his wife, illness of some member of the household. The formal speech which begins the ceremonial drinking sequence has as its parallel in the informal sequence the simple invitation to drink, /ME MA*K AWUC TRAWO/, "Would you like a drink?" This statement in general does not permit a refusal on the part of the person being so invited. (Expressions of invitation in English also carry some slight obligatory component.)

Following the probably affirmative response on the part of the invited person, a bottle of aguardiente is proffered from which the receiver takes a drink. While aguardiente in the ceremonial drinking sequence is measured in liter bottles, aguardiente in the informal drinking sequence is measured in bottles of smaller size, regularly a quarter-liter bottle, though occasionally the aguardiente will be offered in a liter bottle. As noted above, informal drinking sequences are more likely to involve drinking directly out of the bottle rather than out of a shot glass filled from the bottle. Thus the precise amount of aguardiente drunk by each participant is likely to be unknown to the others. In the ceremonial drinking sequence,

273* 574 all persons drinking receive the same known amount, as measured by the shot glass; since each liter is equally divided, the host may stop serving at any time knowing that all have shared equal amounts. In informal drinking, in contrast, equal distribution of the aguardiente is only approximated by passing the bottle to each in turn. Precision in distribution is perhaps of less concern in informal drinking because there is no single host; each man in turn contributes his own bottle to be shared by the group. Mariano tells how he and his friends shared the expense of a drinking cycle as follows:

[539] M. TAL Z'IN *EHK HOYTIK I, K'EHEL BA YUC'IK *EHUK, TE XBOTIK *A, XU* KU*NTIK *EHUK....

Then some other companions came, we went to drink over there, we went to continue over there also. . . .

TUME HA*T NAX K'AN AWAK'IK XCION, SK'AHK' KO*TANTIK *EHK HC'IN TOHOLTIK I.

"It's not right for you alone to give [aguardiente]," I told them. "Now we will buy some with our money."

TENEX K'OT YAK'IK *OLIL HUHUTUL Z'IN *A PAHAL LA YAK'IK STUBI.

Then and there they began to give a half-liter each, afterward all gave equally.

273* The informal drinking cycle is likely to be initiated by same-sex, same-age peers who consider themselves to be friends. In contrast to the ceremonial drinking sequence, in which persons of various ages and role relations always take part, the informal drinking sequence places little emphasis on the individual's rank

273* in the order of drinking. There is no drink server in the informal drinking sequence; a man initiates the drinking act with
273* each other man in turn until his bottle is empty The relative
561 age-ranks of the participants are recognized, however, in that if an older person is present, he is served first. Also, toasting (see the description of drinking by the civil hierarchy) incorporates forms of address--/BANKIL/, /TAT/, and /TATA*/--in which relative age-rank is recognized.

273* The informal drinking sequence, then, is loosely structured internally, and its length is determined by the interaction of the number of participants with the quantity of aguardiente in the bottle. The sequence is terminated when the bottle is empty. A new sequence is initiated when another participant produces another bottle and invites the others to drink. The length of time between sequences varies from virtually no time, when the group is in a bar and a new bottle can be quickly bought, to much longer periods when participants must go to borrow money to buy a bottle or (as happened before the cantinas were established) to find someone who has a bottle to sell. One sequence follows another until all the participants have run out of aguardiente or are unconscious.

[264] No eating--even of regular meals at home--is associated
[533] with the informal drinking sequence. Sometimes a marimba is associated with the informal drinking sequence, but only when the

273* [533] [275] marimberos drink together with their friends in the house where the instrument is kept. When the informal drinking sequence takes place in a cantina, it is accompanied by music played on the phonograph of the cantinero. Each piece costs the owner twenty centavos, and before it is played the names of the donor and his drinking companions are announced over the loud speaker, which carries the sound all over the community.

The informal drinking cycle differs from the ceremonial cycle in that it may move from one setting to another. The two types of cycle differ also in the settings in which each may occur. The distribution of cycles by setting is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF DRINKING CYCLES BY SETTING

Informal drinking	Ceremonial drinking	Informal drinking and ceremonial drinking	Neither
cantinas	porch of cabildo	uncultivated fields	cultivated fields
	inside cabildo	door yards	inside church
	inside caves	house porches	inside convento
	porch of convento	inside houses	inside clinic
			inside store

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273* Like the ceremonial drinking cycle, the informal drinking cycle usually lasts about eight hours. Both types of drinking cycle tend to occur in the daytime, although ceremonial drinking associated with marriage ceremonies and with curing rituals and funerals may often occur at night. On the day following the original drinking cycle, some, at least, of the participants are very likely to drink again. Ceremonial drinking cycles are succeeded by each other only in the case of the annual installation of civil officials, when the members of the hierarchy drink together formally for several days in a row. All other ceremonial cycles, and all informal cycles, are succeeded, if at all, by further informal cycles.

The second day of drinking opens with either the public or private consumption of aguardiente to the extent of about 1/8 to 1/4 liter depending on the strength of the aguardiente. I say public or private in the sense that a man may simply drink it in his house in the presence of his family (private) or he may search out drinking companions or remain with those whom he accompanied the night before (public). The reported purpose of this early morning drink is to reduce the effect of the hangover. It does not in and of itself begin the second day drinking performance, since a man may still choose to go to work rather than to drink. The public consumption of this brace-up drink increases somewhat the probability that second day informal drinking will begin.

273* While the rules for second day drinking are no different than for first day drinking, the drinkers face some changing conditions. Also, they express their drinking role in a slightly different fashion. As was observed in the survey, only half as many men report drinking for two days as report drinking for only one day. No man drinks privately, that is, only in the presence of his family (except to "cure" a hangover, as noted above). But his friends may not have chosen to continue drinking on the second day. Not finding one's friends (either before or after the brace-up) decreases the probability of second day drinking, but a man determined to drink--one whose "heart wants" more aguardiente--will make a persistent search for friends before he either gives up or settles (as I have suggested earlier) for drinking companions whom he knows less well. [609] (Drinking with strangers is believed to be dangerous, for reasons to be given in the next chapters, and perhaps even drunks keep this belief in mind to some extent.) A friend of Juan Hernandez came twice to his house to look for him and "went right in there where the corn grinder is [the kitchen]," /*OC'K'AL NUN TA BA*Y MOLINE/. On hearing this, Juan says, "How could he be sober? He's drunk!" /BA*NBA KUXUK *ULEM/, implying that he would not otherwise have come uninvited into the kitchen.

Since it is difficult if not impossible for a man to

273* refuse a drink in a setting in which men are drinking, and since men who are drinking actively seek companions all over town, the only really satisfactory strategy for those who choose not to drink on a succeeding day is to get out of town. (One of Simmons' informants in Lumahuaná reports that there also, "if a man does not wish to drink, he has to go away from the place where the drinking is taking place and must avoid places where men are drinking." Simmons 1962, p. 42.) In the text just cited above, Juan Hernandez has avoided his friend by going in-
273* to the hills to cut poles for his garden. His wife, Carmen,
539 tells about it:

ME K'AN KUXUK YUN NAX LI*YIX BALAWETEL AMETO.

"You won't sober up wallowing around here."

... LE TE*EL C'UNTE TONC MA*K XWEHT BA XBAT.

"Go look for poles for the chayote, since you don't know where to go."

*AYIL HICWAN, XCI.

"Maybe it's better that way," he said.

*AYIL BAHKON HLEH TAL C'IN HYALELUK HKUHSES TAL HBA*A, XCI.

"It's better that I go and take a trip to sober up," he said.

Juan himself comments as follows:

BETIL XYAL HAYUN MA*BA LA HSOLES LEK *EHUK.

One goes into debt, for that reason also one doesn't overdo.

273*
539 HA* LIK *AY *EHK HKUMPRE STAT PEPRI, HA*YUN MA*C'A K'AN HMON BA SOK.

Also, my compadre, Pedro's father, wasn't here, so there wasn't anyone to join me.

HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO WOL I, BAHT TA *A*TEL EHK NUN TA BA*Y TANKE, SOK SYAKBEL BAHT HAL HKUMPRE ABI.

My compadre, Pedro's father, Gregorio, went to work down there by the tank, he went with his hangover, that compadre of mine.

273* I have seen men leaving the community on fiesta days so as not to become involved in drinking. The following text fragment from Felix Perez is an example: (Felix went to San Cristóbal on the day of the fiesta in order not to be in his house when companions came by to offer him drinks. He makes the point that he is a compulsive drinker, compulsive in the sense that once he starts drinking he cannot stop on the following day but continues for as long as a week. Thus all the bad aspects of drinking are magnified for a person such as himself. While he drinks more infrequently than most individuals, when he drinks he drinks longer than others.)

273*
539 YAN HO*NEH HA* NAX TAL HC'AY KOK YU*N K'IN YA*YEL I,

I only came to entertain myself because of the fiesta.

HA* XI* *EHK TRAWO *EHK I, HA* MA HK'AN *EHK TE ... LIHK YAKUBOKON *EHK TEY *A I.

I'm afraid of the aguardiente, I don't want to get drunk.

YU*N *IP HTEN BAH TA BETIL, MA* LO*L BETIL STENON *EHK TEME LIKH KUC' E.

273* I would go deeply into debt, it's a heavy debt I carry when
539 I begin to drink.

TOH *AY STUK YU*N HNA*TIK. HUN K'AHAL, CE* K'AHAL E.

It would be all right if I could drink one day, two days.

PE *ILI TONC XBAHT TA MUK' KUNTIK HONA, YIC'O HUN SEMNA, YIC'O HO*E K'AHAL, WAXBE* K'AHAL.

But for me it always gets to be a big thing, it lasts a week, five days, six days.

E BA TO K'AN TAK'IN, SIEMPRE XLAH KUNTIK *EHK TAK'IN I.

Where is the money coming from? Our money always runs out.

273* In order not to become involved in drinking, men pursue activities in terms of the necessity of which they lament inability to have taken part in the fiesta. "One of my cattle has been missing for two weeks--and I had to spend all that day and the following day searching for her." "The dogs have been eating elotes in my field in the Paradise section, and I spent the day laying poison and watching the field," etc. The observation of such behavior as this provides a good example of the fact that not all people in Aguacatenango look forward to being "happy" on any given fiesta day, and in turn those people who are being "happy" feel some compulsion to require their fellows to be "happy" with them.

The alternative strategy for avoiding drinking performances is to take the "cure." This consists of taking a medicine so strong that should the taker thereafter drink aguardiente, he

273* is sure to die. One then may refuse a drink, saying, "I have taken the cure and I surely will die." Furthermore, taking the cure is supposed to dispose of one's desire to drink. The cured 273* drinker should find aguardiente repulsive. Candelario Hernandez 539 and Mariano Juarez discuss such a "cure" in the following text fragment:

M. YUN WAN LA *AWUC'BE XPOXIL.

Perhaps you took the medicine?

C. LAH NIX KA*BE TE*K *A, PERE MA HNA*TIK ME XU*YUN T*K HAL *EHUK.

I took a little, but I don't know how long I will be able to stand not taking a drink.

M. PERE ME M*K SK'AN TUT'IL *ORA *ILI, MA*K WAN....

But maybe now you won't want it, since now you won't. . .

C. MA SK'AN BA KUBUL *UC'AN ... LA HATE YUN YA KUUNTIK TE*K C'IN HNUX E, MASK'AN.

Right now I don't feel like it when they invite me to drink, and then if I drink a little I don't like its taste.

HA* *ORA SK'AN XC'I HC'UHTIK YU*UN *ORA XTI*WAN TA HC'UHTI

Right away my stomach begins to hurt, right away my stomac begins to swell.

M. PE YUN HA* WAN XPOXIL ABI.

Well, maybe it's the medicine all right.

C. HAYUN HIC MA* BA KA*BE Z'IN, LA YAK'IK LEK PERSA HONC STUB MAC'A YUC' i.

For this reason I don't drink. A lot of the drinkers are taking the medicine.

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273*
539 HAL XTU*L KUC'OHTIK MAMAL POX I, *E HZ'IN NAX TEME HMIL HBAHTIK *A E.

When we have taken the medicine, we could easily kill ourselves.

M. YAL TASTAT CUS NAX I, *AY YUC'OBE XPOXIL *EHK I.

The father of Jesusa has just taken the medicine.

C. LA TU*L WAN STOHOL *EHK *ILE.

How much did it cost him?

M. PERE TUN TUT'IP PE HUN TA HTAB HAL YA YAL NAX I.

How much? I think twenty pesos was what he said a while ago.

C. YUC'OH TO.

He's still drinking.

M. C'IN HUN K'IN HONC HATE LA HZ'IK E....

He only lasted through one fiesta sober.

*E YUN YA SK'ANIX HAL KO*TAN I, PE XCI.

"My heart is still begging for aguardiente," he said.

ZAM YA XKO, MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK XCI TAK.

"It goes down well, it doesn't hurt me at all," he said.

YU*NEN MAHAK *EHK XPOXIL I.

Maybe it isn't the medicine.

C. BA* LA SMAN WAN.

Where did he buy it?

M. *ILI XINLAN TA MUK'UL *AKIL LA XCON PE XCI.

"It was a ladina from Pinola who sold it to me," he said.

273* 539 C. HA* HAL ME*L HLO*LIWANEH XINAN HAL YA X BEN LI* I.

That's that lying ladina who comes up here.

M. *E *AWA* MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUKUK.

And he says that it didn't help him at all.

C. *E TEY *A YUN SZ'IHK TE*K YUN C'IN HUNUK HA*WIL *A E, *IL C'IN CE* OKE*K'AHAL HONC TAK.

It should at least keep him from drinking for a year, and he only lasted two or three days.

M. *E YUN TONC *ANC TA *AWO*TAN LA *AZ'IK *EHK *ABI, XKUT, *E YU*NIX *A XCI.

"Well, you only stop if you want to," I told him. "Yes," he said.

HINX *A MA YUNUK LA YILA LA STUK YO*TAN I, YUN TONC LA SZ'IK.

"Yes, my heart didn't reject the aguardiente, I willed not to drink."

273* One of the reasons why men may avoid drinking on succeeding days is economic. As drinking continues, there is a tendency to water the aguardiente, prolonging the drinking cycle by reducing the per person unit cost. Nevertheless, men go into debt to buy aguardiente and must often seek work outside the community in order to pay what they owe. [426]

273* 124 Other reasons are suggested by the questions and responses of the survey. Fifty-four men reported that they became ill as a result of drinking--and illness following drinking appears very frequently in the texts. Eleven men reported that, at least occasionally, they are involved in fights while drinking. Fifty-two

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273* of the seventy-six men reported that they drink "in excess" rather
124 than "a proper amount." This contrast seems to be based not primarily on moral principles, but rather on a belief that the state of deep drunkenness which most men reach when they drink in-
128 volves hazards to life and well-being. In the two chapters which follow, I shall describe some of these hazards--conflict and illness--along with the ways of dealing with them, in more detail.

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CHAPTER III

DRINKING AND CONFLICT

293* The generation of conflict

The drunken man in Aguacatenango characteristically communicates his condition relatively clearly in a variety of ways. During an extended drunk, he does not change his clothes from day to day. His belt or sash may be loosened, his clothing muddy. He may show a number of more or less superficial untended wounds encountered during the drinking performance. The direction and pace of his walking is erratic. Instead of taking direct paths between two points, he takes roundabout paths. He may talk to himself, sing and shout, laugh or cry, sit down, fall down, or sleep in the middle of the street. He may lose objects--hat, jacket, sandals. He may refuse food or neglect to return home for meals. He becomes indifferent to the loss of money and may spend much more than he has. He may, under some circumstances, make sexual advances to other than his own marriage partner. He may join drinking groups in the opposite barrio, thus not only relating to people he knows hardly at all, but entering settings into which he would never go when sober.

273* All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable,
183
[689] though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is, while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273* Both insults and physical aggression by drunken indi-
578 viduals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

273* 598 539 TYABLO TYABLO NA *I, HOLA CINGADO NA.

"Curse the house, curse the house!"

TONC YAN XYAKUB TA WINIKIL STUK.

It's inappropriate the way that man drinks.

HAYUN LA YALBE Z'IN SMA*ALIB, XC'OHT TA *AYEL, *A LOK'UK BAEL *A NUHZUK,

So [my daughter] went to her father-in-law and told him to turn them out,

MA*K HK'ANTIKIX *EHUK.

We don't want them any more.

273* 754 539 In another case, the outcome was more serious for the offender. Mariano Juarez describes how the men of the community decided who was the witch responsible for an epidemic of measles as follows:

PERO HIC EHK MAC'A YA XKUC *AK' CAMEL I, YUN YA YAL TA SYAKBEL TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

But they blame that one for the witchcraft, because he says when he's drunk that he knows how to do witchcraft.

MA LA YAK XIW TULAN LA *AY, HA*C YA YAL TA SYAKBEL MAC'A TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

[He says] that he's not afraid, he's strong, that's what he says when he's drunk, that he knows how to do witchcraft.

HAYUN HIC A SKUC *AK' CAMEL YUN KRISTYANETIK I, YUN A YAL TA SYAKBEL.

That's why they blame him for causing the illness among the people, because he says it when he is drunk.

... TA SYAKBEL YA YAL HA*TE MATO KAWAK' *A LIMXNA XCI TA SYAKBEL.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 621 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* exact a promise to reform. Drunken abuse of a wife is specifi-
593 cally proscribed in the counsel given to a young couple during
the wedding ceremony:

[539] HA*T KEREM, K'UXUTA ME AWINAM, MA ME AWUT, MA ME AMAM.

You, boy, esteem your wife, don't scold her, don't strike her.

ME LA *AWUC' POX, TOH ME XAK'AN AWE*EL, TOH ME XAK'AN AMAZ.

When you drink aguardiente, ask for your supper as one ought to, ask for your pozole as one ought to.

273* One wife's attitude toward her husband's aggressiveness when
539 drunk is characteristic of the Aguacatenango woman's view:
593

YU*NEN YIC'O BOLUBEL TA SOL HAL *IX *UTWAN NONC I, WAH.

Maybe he's crazy, since he fights so much! Ha, ha, ha!

TONC YA HZE*LU Z'IN.

Afterward he just laughs.

*AY TYOS, HESUCRISTO, *ABONIK TE*K PERTON, MA*K HNA*, *E XCI Z'IN.

"God, Jesus Christ! Forgive me, I don't remember what I did," he says afterward.

*Y HAYUN HIC MA KAK' TA MUK' Z'IN.

And so I don't pay any attention afterward.

*IP ME KIC' E, KIC' *ABI, *E XCEBAL K'AHAL, *E MA*K HNA*, *E XCI.

Sometimes he hits me, he hits me then, and two days later he says, "I don't remember."

ATUKEL XANA ME KAWAK' PERTONE MA* KAWAK' PERTONE.

"Only you know if you will forgive me or not."

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273* *E HIC PERE XX'AXAMON AWU*UN, YA KUT.
539
593 "I will pardon you, but I am ashamed of you," I tell him.

*E *AYIL NA*K HPASIS HONC *A, SLOT.

"It's all right, I won't do it again," he lies.

YU*N MALAME K'OPOHAN STUK TEME YU*N T'UXAH E.

It's that he doesn't like to hear talking when he's lying down drunk.

YU*N HUN TA *ALAL YU*N C'A*BAL YANE XWAY.

He's just like a baby, he only sleeps if it's quiet.

YAN STUK TEME YAKAT WULWUNEL E, YU*N HWINIK LA KAHMULA HATE XK'OPOHON SOK E.

If I make any noise he says I am talking with my lover.

*E YU*NEN *AY CAWAH TA SOL WAH.

Maybe he's crazy.

TONC YU*N XXUXLEH STUK *ILI.

That's just the way he is.

273* The willingness of the average wife to forgive drunken
593 abuse is an illustration of the fact that, in general, the behavior of an individual when he is drunk is subject to special interpretation by others. A drunken man is generally assumed not to be responsible for his actions; his unsocial behavior is likely to be disregarded. Speaking of a man who is accused of having given his brother a fatal illness by witchcraft because they had fought over an inheritance, Mariano Juarez and Juana Espinoza agree that it is unusual for fighting to have this result.

273* 578 539 M. YA XLIHK KUT HBAHTIK SOK *EHK HBANKILTIK I PERE ...

We start to fight with our brothers too, but . . .

J. *E PE TOH *AY C'IN HNUX I SKAH NAX YAKUBEL *EHK ABI.

But it's easy [to fight] a little on account of drunkenness.

M. YAKUBEL ...

Drunk . . .

J. MA* KUXLEHALUK.

Not sober.

M. SKAH YAKUBEL.

On account of drunkenness.

J. YU*N TONC TONC MOEM A YA*Y STRAWO *EHK ABI.

It's only that one feels like overstepping from the aguardiente.

HAYUN *AY A XMOH TA *AHOLIK Z'IN PE HA*NAX TE*K ABI.

Sometimes it goes to their heads, but only a little [fighting].

M. TOHOL K'OP.

Just talk.

J. MA*K XCAMOTIK YU*N *EHK TOHOL K'OP I.

We don't die from just talk.

Another illustration of the tendency to discount drunken behavior is a discussion in which Aurelia Ramirez reports the insults of the young man whom she had turned out of her house (mentioned in text above):

273* 578 539 A. NUN TE*K'EL NUN TA YUT C'IN NA E, YA XBON, YA XK'OTON TEME ...

He stood right over there, inside the little house [and said], "I'm going, I'm going to come". . .

MA* LOMUK A XBON STUK *ILI, YU*N K'AN LAHUK SLA* KO*TAN E.

"I'm not going away just like that, not till my anger is used up."

MA XLAH SLA* KO*TAN TU*L A SNUZONIK LO*L I, YAK'ONIK LO*L E.

"My anger isn't used up, because they turned me out, they sent me away."

TYABLO YA KIL TU*L A XLOK' TUK SLA* KO TAN I, MA*Y BA* XBAHT, XCI.

"The devil! We'll see how my anger will come out, it's not going to go away," he said.

M. *A XCI.

He said that.

A. XCI TONC XCA BA YAL HONC HAL BAHT I.

He said that, he talked a lot of witchcraft when he went away.

M. ME YUN A XYAKUB *A.

Could he have been drunk?

A. MA*K XYAKUB TAT KUXLEHAL A YAL.

273* 578 He wasn't drunk, mister, he said it when he was sober.

Mariano, in evaluating Aurelia's remarks, asks the crucial question, "Could he have been drunk?" The fact that he was sober implies that much more weight can be placed on his statements of his power to do witchcraft against others. We may perhaps infer

273* that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with
578 this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN
578 HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN
539 BETIK SNA....
593

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY NA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLIHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N MA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

273* He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for
578 that at all, compadre.

539 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK
593 TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUWAR *AY MA* SLUWARUK
XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KKMPRE, YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMIGOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'UL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

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273* 578 593 In this text fragment, Felix is describing to Mariano how his older brother is threatening him over a matter of inheritance. Felix reports that his brother comes to his house and threatens witchcraft upon the family unless the matter is resolved in his favor. Mariano, in his only appearance in the text excerpt, inquires rather sharply if this does not happen only when the brother is drunk. Felix answers in the affirmative and sketches in his feeling about the ambiguity of the situation: (1) one may threaten while drunk, but the hearer does not know whether what the drunken speaker is saying is, from the speaker's point of view, a statement which is true of his sober condition as well or only of his drunken condition; (2) the ambiguity is further reinforced if, when the speaker is sober, he is properly respectful of the listener, whom he has insulted or threatened while drunk; (3) from the point of view of the drinker himself, one knows that he sometimes remembers his performances and sometimes does not remember them. An unremembered performance has the character of communicating less reliably to the receiver than a remembered performance. The receiver must note, then, that any particular drunken performance may be a member of the unremembered class and hence not entirely useful as a basis for inference and action in relating to the person who is performing it. This characteristic of drunken communication causes Felix to evaluate drinking negatively. It leaves him in doubt as to

273* what his "true" relationship with his older brother is.
578
[593] While in principal the intent of a communication sent by a drunken individual under the circumstances noted is subject to modification by him when next he is sober, there occur instances in which the drunken performance is critical in the definition of character. Any expression of hostility (scolding, fighting, stealing) when sober may bring the drunken behavior into focus as an expression of the individual's "true" character. In the case of the young man who "talks pure witchcraft when he is drunk" (mentioned earlier), the decision to make him leave the house was based also on the fact that he quarreled with members of the household and his wife stole chickens, and the decision was later justified, as we have just seen, by the fact that he threatened witchcraft when sober.

It may be the case that hostility or aggressive performances while drinking may be classified into two types as may be seen by the responses to them of other community members. If the basis for hostility can be found in specific antecedent events, then angry words or blows between individuals who are drunk or between a drunk person and a sober person are subject to later apology before any final conclusion is drawn as to the [754] character of the aggressor. If, on the other hand, no specific antecedent events are known to be the source of the hostility, and the drunken performer's anger seems to be directed at random

273* towards the other members of the town, and/or if hostility is
578
754 characteristic of the individual even when sober, then a witch-
craft component will probably be attributed to his character.
If the vernacular of witchcraft is used in expressing hostility
in either the first or the second condition, the attribution of
witchcraft to the person is made more likely.

273* Occasionally the outcome of drunken fighting is so ex-
578 treme (e.g., when one participant dies) that "bad character"
(but not necessarily witchcraft) is attributed to the aggressor
regardless of considerations of intent or of his behavior when
sober. In the following text fragment, such a case is discussed.

273* (The fact that the pair had been drinking was ascertained from
578
539 a source other than the text.)

J. HA* CAM *ILI *ATATIK I.

The old gentleman died.

M. TU* LA SPAS.

What happened to him?

J. MA*YUK LAH TA MILEL.

I don't know, he was killed.

M. ME MA* CIKNAH.

Have they found out who did it?

J. CIKAN *AY HA* NAX MISMO SNEAL I, HA* HAL MA TATIK KCIK I XCI.

It seems that it was his own son-in-law, they said, that old Francisco [the honorific, used here in reference to a young person, derogates his status].

273* 578 539 ... HATE YAHWAL NA HATE SWINKLEL Z'INE, *ABOT TON TA S(H)OL ... HIZ

That head of the house, that owner, was hit on the head with a rock.

MA K'OLO MA TONI.

A rock this big around.

HNA*TIK Z'IN, TU*L LIHK TE SK'OPIK Z'INE, LAH SMIL SBAIK.

We don't know how their argument began, he was killed.

... HA* MILAWAN SNEALI.

His son-in-law killed him.

... HATE MAC'A MILAWAN Z'INE, YIP LA HTATIK TAL Z'IN *A TE SMORAL, SMORALI, YIP LA HTABETAL Z'IN *A SOK CEB PIXLAL.

That one killed him, we only found his morral, only his morral and two hats.

... *ORA *ILI MA* TEK'AY *A, *ANIX LO*EL.

He's not here now, he fled.

M. HIC KOLOL Z'IN.

Then he got away.

273* The possibility that an individual when drinking is in fact speaking the truth is an entertainable idea especially under the circumstances that he reports information which individuals have been searching for unsuccessfully.

273* 626 578 In one text we find Mariano defending himself against statements he allegedly made while he was drunk. The context in which these statements were made is as follows. The woman who

273* leads the prayers in the church (the rezadora) had two anonymous
626
578 notes left at her door, asserting that her character was incompatible with such a role. The effect of this accusation was sufficiently strong to cause her to withdraw from her position. She and her family tried to discover who the note writers were. Under these circumstances it was not long before a few candidates for this position were being considered.

273* Rules of evidence for finding the performers of anonymous
695
626 acts are quite relaxed, though sufficient to the task from the
578 community's point of view. The successful anonymous act is not seen by anyone, hence the reconstruction of the act is made on the basis of motives, and on the succeeding acts which the allegedly guilty person may display. Furthermore, there may be special characteristics of the act which restrict the number of those who may be guilty. If, for example, a man is known to have been killed with a pistol, the assassin is conceded to be limited to one of those who is known to have a pistol. In the present case, a note was written in Spanish, and the author was hence limited to that handful of individuals in the community who can write Spanish. Mariano is perhaps one of the best Spanish writers in the community.

He further damned himself by saying while drunk that he wrote and delivered the note. In this text, he is talking with the rezadora who was forced out of her job, with the full knowledge

273* that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and
695
626 knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation
578 for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

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539
626

HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.

Later I met Augustin.

*ILI ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'EL HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

273* 539 578 626 HU*U HO*N LA HPAS XAWUTON HIL XCI.

"'Yes, I did,' you told me," he said.

TENEX *A HUL KAL XAN TA HNA Z'IN.

From there I went home to hear it again.

HA*C LA YAK'IK HKUC ... HA*C LA ... HO*N LA KAL TA HYAKBEL.

"They are blaming you . . . ." that I said it when I was drunk.

PASE *AK BA* HTA YAKBEL METO, XKUT AWIX I.

"Don't worry, what I could have done when I was drunk?" I told your aunt.

273* 626 578 In telling his wife not to worry, Mariano implies that the rumor will lose its force since it cannot be true.

Mariano also makes it plain to the rezadora later in the text that he wonders at Augustin's insistence on calling this story to his attention and spreading it around town. He implies that Augustin is being somewhat aggressive in doing this or is trying to cover up his own part in the note-writing act. The rezadora draws the conclusion for Mariano that it is probably Augustin who wrote the note, with which conclusion Mariano agrees. Thereby, in this interaction at least, he not only denies any part in the act but also supplies the rezadora with another person who is probably guilty.

273* 578 Individuals in search of the source of hostile acts are not averse to searching the conversations of men who are drinking deeply. In turn, men who drink deeply may use the privileged

273* communication status of deep drunkenness to brag about brash
578 acts they have done and/or to assume authorship for acts they would have liked to do. The aftermath of such performances sometimes requires a delicately balanced conversational gambit to return a relationship to its pre-drunken state.

The resolution of conflict

Where the drunken behavior of an individual is seen by another individual as placing him in jeopardy which persists beyond the limits of the particular drinking situation, the jeopardized person has a choice of actions by which he can decrease his feeling of vulnerability. He may do so either by regaining his pre-conflict control over resources or by placing the person who is the source of the conflict in an equivalent or more serious state of jeopardy. (A fairly detailed description of these two alternate modes of action in response to conflict in Aguacatenango can be found in Metzger 1960.) The distinction between increasing the antagonist's jeopardy and restoring one's own control over the situation serves as the basis for the distinction between what I have termed penalizing and restitutive outcomes of conflict. The principal feature of a restitutive strategy is that it renders the state of jeopardy between individuals "neutral" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties involved. This neutrality is relative

273* 578 our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeo-
273* 578 pardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez
573 tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him
539 while drunk:

> PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....
>
> Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .
>
> HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.
>
> He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.
>
> LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.
>
> His children were taken ill.

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273* Z'IN *EHR HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
539

I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN NA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's
578
593 drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWɔ*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

273* 683 court usually demands a nominal fine (10 pesos--about a day's wages--being the customary amount), and sometimes the defendant will apologize as well. In one such case, the plaintiff had to have hospital care, and the defendant was ordered to pay the 273* 682 bill (30 pesos) instead of a fine. Where the fighting ended in a death, both fine and damages are charged, as in the murder [537] case already mentioned in text above:

M. PERO ME LAHWAN YAK' TAK'IN TOHUBEH.

I wonder how much money it was settled for.

J. KINYENTOS PESO LAH YAK' HIL.

He handed over five hundred pesos.

M. ME HA* LAH SMUK Z'IN TE MAC'A CAM E.

Did he pay for the funeral of the dead man?

J. PUES MA HNA*TIK, MA YU*N LAH YA*BE SIYERO TRESYENTOS PESO.

Well, I don't know, maybe he gave him something like three hundred pesos.

M. APARTE XAN Z'IN TE KINYENTO LAH YAK'HIL E.

Apart from the five hundred that he handed over?

J. APARTE Z'IN *EHK HATE KINYENTOS PE E LAH YAK' HIL TA KABILTA.

Apart from the five hundred pesos that he handed over to the court.

682 627 It is important that in this case, the murderer not only paid the fine and damages (through his wife) but also found it advisable to leave the community. Murder and witchcraft do not

682 admit of truly restitutive outcomes in Aguacatenango; an indi-
627 vidual is dead and cannot be reclaimed, and from the point of view of the Aguacatenanguero, nothing can reduce the survivors' sense of vulnerability except another life. Furthermore, any sanction short of death or permanent expulsion from the community
682 might result in reprisals. The Aguacatenango court has no popu-
627 lar mandate and hence no power or desire to hand down a death
692 sentence to a community member; the most severe sanction it can employ for a murder is a heavy fine-plus-damages. Since this sanction falls short of the family's needs, the court is rarely consulted in such cases; when such cases do come to court, they are often dismissed (sometimes on the basis of lack of evidence, for murders and witchcraft are not often observed by witnesses) or referred to the municipio court.

627 Murder and witchcraft are usually dealt with by means of
682 penalizing strategies, most often murder or the threat of it which
754 will drive the individual permanently out of the community. A lesser penalizing strategy--breaking off interaction--is sometimes used in such cases, particularly if the jeopardized party is weak or the evidence is inconclusive. For example, Josefa Lopez' husband was accused of doing witchcraft against a neighbor's wife. When her husband was later killed while drinking, nobody saw the killing but Josefa "knew" that the dead woman's son had done it out of vengeance. Josefa, now a widow with small

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

578 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[692] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However,
[754] this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

[539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

578
627 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP,
539 HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273* In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken
578 behavior are relatively infrequent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less
[692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

273* ing strategies outside the court (murder or threat of murder)
578
[692] when the jeopardy involves a death.

Patterns of drinking in the expression of and the resolution of conflict

Two sets of circumstances in which drinking occurs in the course of the settlement of conflict can be distinguished. First, there are those circumstances in which conflict is to be bound; that is, reduced as the basis for further inference and action. The second set of circumstances is that in which the conflict is to be escalated; that is, in which individuals are going to engage in aggressive acts in order to reduce their per-
273* ceived state of jeopardy. We will exemplify the first set of
578 circumstances by discussing the role of aguardiente in the settlement of cases in court. We will exemplify the second set of circumstances by discussing the role of alcohol in the performances which lead to anonymous assassination in that circumstance where consensus is that the man to be murdered is a witch.

*The settlement of conflict in court
273
695 The process of settling conflicts under the direction of the ayuntamiento is mutually exclusive with required or mandatory drinking performances. However, once the conflict has been settled, the interaction between the members of the ayuntamiento and some, if not all, of the parties of the dis-

273* 695 pute cannot be terminated until drinking has taken place. Search procedures used by the court such as testimony, the cross-examination of witnesses, the handling of material evidence, debating points of law, none of these are thought to operate at all well unless the parties to the dispute, and the court, are sober.

It is nonetheless the case that the court often entertains a set of disputants while one or more of the relevant parties is substantially intoxicated. For informal drinking is so usual that at least some of the members of the set of those who will participate in the conflict settlement are drunk. Furthermore, it appears to be the case that sometimes an individual who does not wish to be bound by the court's decision and the public certification of the conflict will use drunkenness as a strategy to delay the proceedings. Under such circumstances, the court will initiate the proceedings, but will drag them out over a period of several days so that individuals who were drunk initially will have the opportunity to sober up. In turn, individuals who are drinking for other purposes, for example, to delay the trial, will be separated out and their behavior sanctioned. Sometimes they will be sent off, and the decision made without the benefit of their presence.

To sum this up, we may say then, that the parties to the conflict and the court must remain sober. Court outcomes are

273* 695 dependent on a most careful and detailed examination of the conditions under which the conflict was originally generated as they are concerned in reaching a decision which fairly expresses the variable jeopardy that each party could reasonably be held accountable for vis-à-vis the other party. In the circumstances that any of the three parties to the conflict are drunk, the case will be postponed, or if it is not postponed it will be considered void, to be retried or else appealed to another court.

273* 695 684 593 There are a few kinds of circumstances in which drinking during the course of conflict settlement is seen to be appropriate though optional to the parties concerned. The type of case is best exemplified by circumstances where a daughter, say, is known by her family to have been promiscuous previous to the trial, and where they are being called by the daughter's husband or suitor to account for their daughter's behavior. In such circumstances the parents of the girl will appear at court. During the trial, each of them will publicly whip the girl. In such a case, where a male parent is certain of his daughter's misbehavior, he may drink aguardiente so as to reduce his feelings of shame at having the affairs of his daughter made public, and, as a result having to whip her. The mother does not drink [562] in these circumstances, the proscription on women drinking being so strong as to prevent her from indulging in this shame-reducing behavior.

273* 695 Drinking is characteristic in court settlement once the outcome has been decided. One or both parties to the dispute will present one to five liters of aguardiente to the ayuntamiento who with the parties will drink it up, the aguardiente being equally distributed among all persons present, the relative order of drinking being that described in Chapter II.

273* 695 571 While interpretations of the "meaning of drinking" in the terminal period of the settlement of a dispute are by and large speculative, we may observe that such drinking appears to signal that the role relationships specific to the dispute are now dissolved. That is, the court no longer judges, and the disputants are no longer in jeopardy with reference to each other. Rather it is the case that the relationships between those involved have been returned to their pre-conflict state. The enduring relationships between the individuals previous to the conflict again hold. It should also be observed that the gift to the ayuntamiento of aguardiente is a form of payment for having mediated the dispute.

273* 695 Drinking performances in conflict settlement can be easily identified as either ceremonial or informal. The ceremonial drinking expression following conflict settlement begins with the presentation of the aguardiente to the ayuntamiento by one of the parties to the dispute. The ceremonial drinking segment terminates when this aguardiente has been drunk up by those present. Addi-

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* 578 731 "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in 539 text as follows:

> K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANFIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.
>
> The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.
>
> HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.
>
> The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

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273* HA * HIC LIHK SZOB SPISIL WINIKETIK TA TEHKLUM.
578
731 In this manner all the men in town began to get together.
539

HA* PRIMERA ZOBAWAN MAC'A TE SK'OKIK TA MUKAHEL E.

The first men to get together were those who had been to the funeral [of a boy who had died of measles].

HA* HIC LIHK K'OP *ABI LA YALIK TE YUN *AY MAC'A YOZES E CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

In this way the action began, and they said that someone had put the illness in the town.

HA*LA YUN HIC BAYAL YA XCAM *ALALETIK.

And for this reason many children died.

HAYAN HIC LA SZOB SBA SPISIL WINIKETIK YUN CAMEL I.

Because of this, all the men got together, because of the illness.

TA SKA TRAWO LIHK YALIK HA* HIC LIHK SZOB SBAIK.

Because of the aguardiente they began to talk, and thus they began to get together.

LIHK YALIK YUN *AY SWINKLEL HAYUN HIC MUK'UB YUNIK HAL K'OP I.

They began to say that the illness had an owner and for this reason the excitement increased.

LIHK YUC'IK TRAWO YUN HIC *AY SPERSIK *A MAYUK XIWEL TA K'OP *A.

They began to drink aguardiente so that they would be strong, so that they would not be afraid to speak.

HAYUN NAL YA XKIXINTES SBAIK TA TRAWO YUN MILAWAN E.

For this reason, first they warm themselves with aguardiente in order to kill a man.

273* 578 731 539 YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.

In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a [754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe 754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

754 mentions that the man (one Margarito Mendez) claimed to be a witch while he was drinking. Hence without knowing whether Margarito Mendez was the witch in this particular case, but knowing that he was thought to be a witch in general, the men attributed the deaths to him.

754 627 *273 To kill a witch is a dangerous undertaking. The community should be in agreement, and the mode of killing must be sure or the coalition of the witch will defend him and take counter action against the assassins. In this context, drinking places the individuals in that condition of lack of fear in which they can complete the affair without undue consideration of its effects on their further plans.

754 539 An example of the specific statement of the fear reflex in naming witches appears in Ausencio Espinoza's monologue, where one finds the assertions (made at the funeral of a youth who was presumed to have died of witchcraft):

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I,

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said,

CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK'HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

"We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

HA*YU*N MA SPAS YALEL PORKE YAN K'OP XI'BINTIK SBA XCILIK HAL WINIKETIK I.

"For this reason, it isn't possible to say it, because it's bad talk, it's dangerous," said the men.

754
539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
578
672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
122 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

273*
182 direct action. The men in Aguacatenango drink in the course of simplifying their search procedures for the witch. They drink to reduce the fear they have to perform highly aversive acts just as they drink to reduce the fear they have for the consequences of their acts. In drinking performances comes the truth to judge and the power to see the judgment rendered.

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CHAPTER IV

DRINKING PATTERNS ASSOCIATED WITH GETTING SICK AND DYING

75 Illness is probably the least well-controlled variable in Aguacatenango planning. As such, it is a recurrent event in the lives of Aguacatenangueros, and its implications are serious.

The household, the most complex and long-enduring organizational effort of Aguacatenangueros, may be destroyed by the death of one of its adult members. Extreme illness may cause a family to close up its house and leave town altogether. Any illness is potentially a severe strain on family resources.

273* 753 [764] Drinking is intimately associated with illness: it figures in the etiology of illness; it is central in the procedures used to reduce illness as a basis for inference and action; and finally, it is an important instrument of expression of mourning should the ill individual die. After a brief description of the [128] "theory of illness" in Aguacatenango, we will show how drinking is related to this theory and to its behavioral expression.

Restrictions on the characteristics of acceptable data in the study of illness

/2/ In attempting to study illness in Aguacatenango, procedural difficulties led me to the following observations.

(1) It is not possible to duplicate the sense experience of a member of another culture. Even knowing, now, some of the rules in terms of which inferences are made from sense experience, I believe it to be unlikely that we will be able to write ethnographic descriptions on the basis of similarity of sense experience (between ethnographer and informant). Hence, the hope of making ethnographic descriptions by "learning through internalization of the culture" seems to be explicitly excluded as a basis for making cultural descriptions.

The perception of events, objects, processes by even the most sophisticated ethnographer must inevitably suffer contamination from his own cultural experience. Even should it be the case that the ethnographer can properly learn the native culture in the sense that he can always make the proper deductions, the time consumed makes it impractical, the investigator hence being constrained to the learning of one, or at most two, cultures besides his own in the course of his professional life.

(2) Even if it were possible to duplicate the sense experience of the native, it would still be the case that much of native communication is based on non-shared sense experience.

12/ This is clear in the case of illness as it is reported by individuals in Aguacatenango. While I had no trouble in establishing an inventory of states of illness, as informants reported them, I could not establish a basis for measuring the informant's sense experience independent of his report.

There may be cultural dimensions where the investigator is able independently to establish stimulus values. The world of material objects, for example, permits detailed examination in terms of physical measures of light and shade, intensity, color, sound, shape, and so on. Native classifications of those objects which exist in a materially defined space may conceivably be so described. Much of the cultural material that must be included in descriptions, however, does not exist in an easily searchable perceptual space.[1] Furthermore, it is not certain

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[1]Frake observes (1961: 124) "The discovery of what cue discriminations informants are making when contrasting one disease with another is exceedingly difficult. Many apparently pertinent cues, such as the ones that enable a Subanun patient to distinguish 'headache' (messit gulu) from 'migraine' (tampiak) are known only by verbal descriptions. A disease 'entity' such as 'headache' is not something that can be pointed to, nor can exemplars of diseases ordinarily be brought together for visual comparison and contrast as can, say, two plants. Moreover, situational features other than stimulus attributes of the illness bear on the final diagnostic decision. The same degree of pain, if objectively measured, could probably lead to a diagnosis of either 'headache' or 'migraine' depending on current social or ecological role demands on the patient. Nevertheless, very few diagnostic decisions are made by the Subanun without some apparent appeal to stimulus properties of illness; and in the majority of diagnoses these are the overriding considerations."

121 that the attribute space relevant to material objects is going to be easily searchable.[1]

(3) Most theories that individuals have about causal relationships in the real world are documented by events which have already taken place. They are of the type: X is true because Y has happened; or, alternatively, since Y, then X. Garfinkel has called this the documentary method (Garfinkel n.d.). It is characteristic of the documentary method that there is hardly ever a set of past events which deny some set of infer-
121 753 ences the documentary method provides.[2] Thus, in Aguacatenango, an epidemic stops because the witch who was causing it has been killed; if, on the other hand, the epidemic does not stop with the killing of a witch, then another witch must be responsible. Again, a sick person gets well because a curing ceremony has been performed; if he does not get well after the ceremony, then his illness must be witchcraft and the witch more powerful than
121 the curer. The documentary method is never wrong. This may be

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[1]See Conklin (1955).

[2]This characteristic of the documentary method is explicated in an experiment by Garfinkel (op. cit.). Subjects were told that they should report by phone to counselors serious problems they were experiencing. Whenever the subject thought of a question to which the counselor could answer yes or no, he was instructed to ask the question. The counselor then answered each question yes or no. The subjects were required to interpret the counselor's response. In every case the subjects were able to "make sense" out of the counselor's response. The counselors' responses were drawn from a table of random numbers.

121 one reason most "primitive" belief systems require so much pressure before they can be brought under our documentary rules.

The beginnings of a theory of illness for Aguacatenango

In order to develop a theory of illness, one must have a way for directing the informant's attention to this domain or focus; or, alternatively, the ethnographer must be able to detect in the set of observables he has available to him, those which are, to some extent, conditioned by the salience of illness in one or another of its forms to the performers. In the present case we depend upon verbal contexts to establish relevance from the informant's point of view, and we use verbal contexts to test non-simulated performances in order to determine the salience of illness in the record of any situation we may be examining. One general measure of relevance is expressed in the Tzeltal question: /TUT LA SPAS/ "What happened to him" literally "What was he doing?" A further probe such as: /TUT+A CAMELIL YA YA*I*/ "What illness does he feel?" if it can be made relevant, is fairly likely to put the observer into the domain of illness as it is being experienced by some participant. If the illness is a non-simulated performance, further eliciting will produce further reports of states relevant in that domain. If the illness is a simulated performance, further well controlled eliciting will produce further relevant responses to

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753 the initial simulated performance. Such material, in conjunction with texts, constitutes the basis for the following survey of beliefs about illness.

753 The conditions which precede the onset of illness are many and varied. While some of them are known to be antecedent to illness in the sense that if an individual experiences one of these conditions the probability is increased that he will become ill, there are nonetheless many conditions which become diagnostic of the illness only after the individual defines himself and is defined as being ill. Types of experiences which lead the individual to anticipate illness include either becoming angry or being an object of anger; experiencing extreme fright, as when one has had dreams, or has seen the image of some malevolent non-human force (i.e., a ladino dressed in black riding a tall horse); and drinking aguardiente. These and similar experiences carry permanent associations with illness; the individual expects to become ill and often does so. Conditions which are used to explain illness only after-the-fact tend to be more properly theoretical in that they explain at once the necessary and sufficient conditions for some non-hypothetical occurrence of some disease process.

Among the after-the-fact explanations one finds statements such as, "the patient is suffering from soul loss, his soul presently residing in the Owner of the Cave's soul pool."

753 Or, "the man is suffering from malaria which he got in hot country the last time he went to the fincas." Or, "the man's spirit is being eaten by a witch, Mr. X, who is angry with him because he did not pay back the money he owed." Every after-the-fact description of antecedent conditions implies a cause and effect relation such that the cause can be manipulated so as the patient will recover from the illness. After-the-fact descriptions of the sources of disease processes are never final since they are always dependent on (a) the further development of the disease process in the patient and (b) the confirmation in the identification of the source of illness by a successful attempt to reduce the effect of the source. If manipulation of the hypothesized source reduces the illness, the diagnosis of source is concluded to be correct; if not, further source potentials are searched for.

There is relatively little explicit procedural apparatus for adding to the inventory of after-the-fact explanations, and there are relatively few devices for modifying the modes of identification of the cause of the disease process. If a change capability is built into this theory of illness in Aguacatenango, it is not easy to detect wherein it lies.[1]

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[1]The modes of change that we have observed in Aguacatenangueros' response to illness have involved shifts from known medical practitioners to others, where the theory remains relatively unexplicated and the results of the medical practitioner's

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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753 Informants report experiencing a variety of sensed states as a disease process begins. Among these are depression (mental), cough, dry throat, diarrhea, fever, vomiting, stomach ache, loss

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75 177 178 progress are used to judge the probability of opting some particular medical practitioner for a cure rather than some other. Response to illness involves the principle of exhaustion of resources. In severe illness, the family of the patient may exhaust all known medical practitioners who are thought to have sufficient knowledge and skill and also may exhaust all means for motivating curers to come and perform the cure. With the diminution of resources and exhaustion of the most proper curers, the family of the patient explores curing sources whose potential for curing may be lower, but still appreciable. Successful curing under such circumstances raises the probability that this family will use some newly successful medical practitioner sooner in the next onset of illness, that is, he will be called upon before they have exhausted their resources. The introduction of INI medical practice into Aguacatenango has been in these terms, namely, that patients and their families have turned to INI medical personnel upon the exhaustion of their resources. INI procedures have maintained a ratio of successes over failures in these curing circumstances such that they have continued to be called upon, in some cases under less extreme conditions. The ratio of successes over failures has not been so great, however, that INI is seen to be a totally satisfactory replacement for the more well established practitioners. Furthermore, INI treats only a small proportion of the total range of "illnesses" that occur in the community. INI will increase the proportion of cases it treats as it modifies the Aguacatenangueros' perception of the success'failure ratio and as it increases the classes of illness that it deals with. It may be the case that INI has at present a maximal investment in time and resources in maintaining its present range and success proportion, so future severe changes may not be expected from them. There is, however, some generalization to other INI type of curers--namely, doctors in San Cristobal. The generalization here may increase the use of doctors over curers. There is the further possibility that curers are incorporating into their theories some of the simpler strategies used by doctors. This is done so crudely that it hardly involves change of beliefs at any detailed level, but rather involves a simple increase of the inventories of medicine by means of which the curer implements his theory.

753 of appetite, swelling, headache. At this stage in the disease process, no one, least of all the patient, knows what developments of successive units of time will be like. That is, the patient may have a headache and it will disappear (that is, no longer be reported) in some successive unit of time. On the other hand, the headache may be compounded with a stomach ache in some successive unit of time, resulting in a redefinition of the disease process. Generally speaking, sensed states which occur early in the disease process and which are not divisible into other sensed states are equivalent to symptoms, whereas sensed states which occur later in the disease process and which are a sum of other sensed states may be equivalent to illnesses. Illnesses are unit characterizations of the disease process which are sufficiently contrastive with each other so that alternative strategies for reducing the illness (as a basis of inference and action) are pursued, depending upon which (identified) illness is present in any particular case.

It is at present still unclear to what degree well-defined illnesses such as /SAK *OBAL/ "tuberculosis" are defined strictly in terms of combinations of symptoms appearing through the disease process rather than in combination with the manner in which the disease process responds to the sequential curing segments, and the ultimate explanations assigned to the disease process (e.g., witchcraft). It is probably that a more adequate

753 statement would be that the names of illnesses are reflexes of all these pressures.

757 Curing strategies more or less line up with this symptom-illness distinction. The early stages of a disease process are handled by medicine, the appropriate form of which and access to which, most adults in Aguacatenango control. For example: for stomach gas, give bicarbonate soda with lime (to drink); for a cough, give boiled brown sugar (to drink); for nausea and headache give té limon. As the combination of "symptoms" increases in the later stages of a disease process, most adults lose control over knowledge of the proper array of medicines and rituals. These in turn become combinatorially more complex. It is at these later stages of the disease process that curers and doctors are called in.

756 759 Curers and doctors differ most obviously in that doctors are ladinos and curers tend to be Indians (although ladino curers are known). In addition, they deal with illnesses in sufficiently contrastive ways so that two role identifying labels must be 75 maintained. They are both recognized to be able to reduce illness (as a basis for further inference and action) by prescribing medicines that can be purchased in the pharmacy. These may be taken orally, injected, or applied as a salve. The doctor further prescribes and may himself perform some minor surgery, X-ray examinations, and other traditional Western-European

75 strategies for diagnosing and reducing illness. The curer does not engage in surgery, nor does he prescribe any of the more complex testing procedures whose results he does not imagine himself to be able to interpret. Instead, he recommends additional substances be purchased from the pharmacy such as tallow, wines, herbs in aguardientes as well as substances which are sometimes found in domesticated state, and more often found wild in the general vicinity of Aguacatenango. These include some kinds of flowers, bark, leaves, roots, stems, flesh of animals and fishes, animal waste products, eggs and so on. These substances are variously taken orally, applied externally, or inhaled as steam. Unlike doctors, curers practice bleeding and cupping; they also administer some medications in the form of steam while the patient is seated on a platform over a fire. They incorporate adornment of the sick-bed into curing ritual. The ritual may also include prayer. Most important, perhaps, the curers undertake to examine the recent life history of the individual who is ill, in terms of the possibility that the individual has encountered some disease producing entity which can explain, in his particular case, the onset of the disease process. There is no illness for which the curer does not have an explanation together with a set of strategies for dealing with it. At present, at least one curer, when confronted with very serious cases, will refer his patient to a doctor, but this does

75 not yet appear to be a popular alternative. Generally, the doctor is the last of all medical practitioners referred to in exhausting the curing options in Aguacatenango, though individuals who have had a successful relationship with the doctor are more
756 likely to pursue that option sooner. The only other major class of medical practitioner is the talking saint. Talking saints are more or less representational images of saints who, in conjunction with their "owners" can actively consult with human beings about their trials and tribulations in the world. The most powerful of this class, San Miguel of Soyaló, is about an eight hour trip and a 200 peso fee from Aguacatenango. Talking saints share more features with the curers than they do with doctors. They, like the curers, are predestined by God to their role,
[755] but they more directly represent God's omniscience. The cure of the talking saint is more powerful as can be measured by the greater expenditure of funds for such a cure, or as can be measured by his greater ability to divine in the life history of the patient the principal sources of illness.

128 Admitting then, that illness has general characteristics as described above, we turn our attention to the multiple relations between illness and the drinking of aguardiente.

273* 753 **The role of drinking performances in the onset of illness**

Informants report that drinking may result in illness. One can distinguish, in the case of consequent illness two rather distinct constellations of features which lead to illness. The first involves the enchanting of the aguardiente by some bad-intentioned person, a substance being inserted in the aguardiente which causes severe illness or death to the person who drinks it. The second state involves interpretation of the supposed results of drunkenness, the universal result of the consumption of aguardiente in substantial amounts.

273* 753 539 An example of the first condition appears in a text fragment of Ausencio Espinoza, as follows:

NAL PRIMERA LIHKE YU*N LOK' TA PAXEAL HUN *AHK'BAL SOK SOTAK.

This began when he went out to party with his friends.

BAYAL XK'OKIL BA STOHIK SK'INIK SLOK'ESLAN SBILIK TA BOSINA.

There were several of them who paid for their music and they announced their names on the loud speaker.

PERO SUNUL *AHK'BAL PAXYAHIK.

They partied all night.

TA XCE'BAL K'AHAL LIHK YA'Y K'UX TA SBE YIK' MA*K SNA* STOHOL TUT *AY TE K'UX E.

The next day he began to feel a pain in his throat and he didn't understand what it was from.

BAHT TA *A*TEL.

He went to work.

273* TE TA YA*TEL E MA LA X HU* YA YA*Y I TONC LA YA YA*Y TE
753 MA*YUK SPERSE.
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He went to work and he was not able to do it, for he felt very weak.

XCE*BAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

The next day he felt the same.

YOXEBAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

On the third day he felt the same.

TE*BEHTIK *UNINOT TONC HA* K'UX LI* TA SBE YIK' I.

Little by little the illness dominated him, what gave him pain was his throat.

MA SPAS XWE* SOYOK MA SPAS X KO HNUXUK SBAL XC'UHT TONC YAKB YU*UN TE ZK'UXUL SNUK' E.

He was not able to eat, and he began to grow thin for the pain in his throat.

HA* HIC LIHK XCAMEL ABI.

In this way his illness began.

TONC LIHK Z'IN PURA YA*AL TI*IL LIHK MALMUNEL HONA.

Afterwards he was spitting a lot of phlegm.

MA X MAHK LIHK *IPAHUK LEK.

It didn't stop, it got worse.

*OC TA POXTAYEL WEHT YAH*UL LA XPOXTA PURO MANBILIL POX LA YA*BE.

They began to cure him. The curer used only medicines that were purchased.

PERO MA* TOHOL CAMELUK HA* SAK *OBAL I.

But it was not a simple illness, it was tuberculosis.

273* X*OBEINAHE MA X LOK' HAL *OBAL I.
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539 When he coughed the phlegm did not come up.

HA* HIC CAM HAL KEREM BONIPASY I.

In this manner Bonifacio died.

X K'OK TA POXTAYEL TA MUK'UL *AKIL PERO MA HNA* MAC'A TE POXTAWANEH MA* TOHUB YU*N YAHCAMEL E.

He went to Pinola to cure himself. I don't know who it was that tried to cure him, but he failed.

*A LA PERSA CAM K'ALAL CAM E, BAYAL X K'OK SMUKEL.

Inevitably, he died. Many went to his funeral.

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I, CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK' HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said, "We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

273* So, Bonifacio is reported to have been carousing with
753 his friends for the course of an evening. The specific behaviors which are mentioned include: (a) making a party (in a bar) for one night. The specific features of the party-making include: (1) paying the barkeeper to play music over the loudspeaker system; and (2) announcing their names over this same loudspeaker system. While drinking is not mentioned in the text, it is none the less the case well confirmed by informants that it is unlikely that drinking did not go on in this setting.

The next day Bonifacio went to work. In a matter of weeks Bonifacio died of tuberculosis, an illness whose etiology

273* 753 carries a strong witchcraft component. The conclusion apparent in the text is that Bonifacio was subject to this witchcraft contamination the night of the party, a point which informants confirm.

The party context, then, is one which may make the individual particularly susceptible to witchcraft. One reason for this may be that the party-goer becomes drunk and is thus less well aware of potentially threatening performances around him. A second is that he is ingesting substances (like aguardiente) the precise character of which he does not know; they being brought to the party by his companions or bought at the bar. It is a standing belief that a witch can cause trago to accept poisonous material which will kill the man who drinks it. Thus Bonifacio was killed at the party, the method being unknown (but not unlikely by using aguardiente as a medium), the killer being unknown but probably a member of the party group.

273* 753 539 A further example from text picks up a few more of the features of the drinking situation which is likely to be associated with witchcraft.

M. HINC*A, CAWAH TA HOL.

Yeah, I'm crazy in my head.

C. HAL LA STIH TRAWO *EHK I.

The trago brought that on.

273* M. HA* MA* KA*YTIK BA* YA KUC'TIK TUT'IL *ULEMOTIK I.
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We lose track of where we are drinking when we are good and drunk.

YU*N HO*N MA* KA*YIX K'OP *A, HA*WAN LA HTAIX *A HATE YU*N KUXEBAL E.

It's because I didn't obey; perhaps I got it during Holy Week.

*E LA KAK'HBA TA *ILEL TA *ORA, MANIX KAK' TA MUK' *EHK *ABI.

I tried to cure myself right away but it didn't do any good.

TONC YUN C'ABAL YA KA*Y TONC STUBI YUN LEK *AN YA KA*Y TU*L NIX *AYINON *A.

I hear a lot of silence, and nothing is well with me as I have always been.

LIHK KA*BE XAN Z'IN HAL YUN K'IN E, HUNYO E.

I began to drink again in the fiesta in June.

YUN TE LA SAPUYONIK XAN *A TE MAC'A NIX YA YIL BIHINON *A E.

He bewitched me again, the same guy who had bothered me before.

TE LA POHOL HIL HXANAB *A, TE POHOL HIL HPOKO *A, PERE MA*Y XC'ULEL HNUXUK.

I left my sandals lying there, my flashlight lying there, I just didn't remember a thing.

MA* BA C'IN HPAS HA*IC.

This has never happened to me before.

*OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN TONC BOLBOLTIKIX HBA Z'IN *A, TONC YANATIK TUTA KALIX *A TO *OCON K'OL E.

I arrived in my house afterwards half crazy. I saw things wildly strange when I got there.

273* 753 This informant relates the kind of association between his mental disturbance and the drinking of aguardiente. In this case, the disease did not stem directly from the aguardiente but from the experience he had while drinking the trago; namely that someone bewitched him. Having had the illness cured he began to drink again, which was a mistake since the witch knowing of his drunken condition, was able to cast the same spell on him again. Under this spell, his loss of consciousness was more penetrating than anything he had ever experienced as the result of drinking.

This informant reports that his ability to resist the witchcraft attack was greatly reduced while he was drinking. We speculate that such a loss of control involves the individual's loss of ability to control the alters with whom he associates, the locations he moves into, and the substances he drinks.

273* 753 539 A more specific example of the introduction of witchcraft substances into the aguardiente can be found in the text fragment of Josefa Lopez, the relevant parts of which appear in the citation below.

NAL PRIMERE LA* HTIKUN KAL TA RESAL.

It began when I sent him to Rosary.

LA KALBE BAN TA RESAL TATA, BAN *AK'A AC'IN LIMXNA ZUNA AC'IN KANTELA XKUT.

I told him, "Go to Rosary, my son, take a little candle as an offering."

273* KO XCI, BAHT Z'IN.
753
539 "All right," he said, then he went.

LAH RESAL Z'IN LA STA SBA SOK XC'IN HOTAK BAHTIK TA IL K'IN.

After the Rosary, he chanced on some of his friends and they went to watch the fiesta.

YUN SK'IN ME*TIK PASKO BA YILIK BA* *AN C'IN NINO TYOS TA SNA MIGUEL MENTES.

It was the fiesta of Christ's birth and they went to see the Christ-child at the house of Miguel Mendez.

BA YILIK HU* *AHK'OT *I TE LA *ABOTIK C'IN HPIS TRAWO *A XCOLET LA TAL TE HP'IS TRAWE.

They went to watch the dance, and there my son was given a shot of aguardiente along with all of the men as the drink pourer moved around the group.

*ABOT LA Z'IN *EHUK PERO MALA KOK YU*UN TA *UC'EL.

They gave him another but he was not able to drink it.

LI* LA MAHK HIL LI*TA SNUK I.

It got stuck here in his throat.

HUN LA TA C'INIK BAK *IXIM K'ATAL HIL TA SNUK I.

It seemed as though little grains of corn were stuck in his throat.

LAH LA YO*BENTA MALA XLOK.

He coughed but it did not go away.

HA* Z'INABI K'OT YALBON *ORA *ILI LA HTAIX CAMEL.

He came home and told me that he had just got sick.

MAHNA* TY*N BON TA RESAL I LA SMONONIK TA *IL K'IN HOL HOTAK I.

"I don't know why, I went to Rosary and my friends invited me to watch the fiesta."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273* PERO LA YA*BONIK KUC' HPIS TRAWO PERO MA* KO XCI HULEL TA HNA.
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539 "But they gave me a shot of trago and it didn't go down," he said upon arriving home.

MATO *AK K'AHAL Z'IN *A TUHXA TA CAMEL *ABOT K'AHK'.

Not many days afterwards he fell sick with fever.

E HA Z'INABI K'AX HAL K'AHK' I, TONC MA* HAHC LIHK K'UXUBUK SNUHKLEL.

After the fever passed, he was unable to get up, his body began to ache.

LIHK YA*Y XTI*LAHAN SNUHKLEL X HUN LA TA STI*AW XANIC MALA XU* YAN LA HA YA*I.

He began to feel pain in his body as though ants were biting him and this was very depressing.

LIHK NIKOTUK TA SIK, MA*YUK SPERSA YA YA*I, TONC *IPA HONA.

He began to tremble with cold; he felt weak; he got very much worse.

BA HK'AN PAWOR SOK HME*HTATIK.

I went to ask assistance of the curers.

LA KAK'TA PIKEL XC'IC'EL LA YAL Z'IN LA YU*C' TRAWO TA BA* XK'OK TA *IL K'INE.

I let them pulse him, and afterward [the curer] said, "He drank aguardiente where he went to the fiesta."

*ABOT HPIS TRAWO YU*C' XC'IN MAHTAN, PERO *AY MA* C'A *ILOWAN LA SPAS *IL *OTAN O LA SPAS PUKUHIL.

"They gave him a shot of aguardiente as a gift, but there was someone who looked evil or who did the evil thing."

HA*HIC LA STA CAMEL C'IN KEREM I XCI.

"That is how the boy became sick," he said.

273* HA* C'OHBIL CAMEL I LOM TULAN *AY MAXU* TA HTUL YAH*UL YA
753 SK'AN CA*TUL YAH*UL HA* HIC SPAS TA POXTAYEL *A XCI HAL
539 H*UL I.

"This witchcraft is very strong, he won't get well with only one curer. He needs two curers to get well," he said.

*OC TA POXTAYEL Z'IN PERO MA*YUK HTAKIN *A.

The curer began to cure him, but I didn't have any money.

HAWAL NUHUL LO'ON TA MAHAN TA*K'IN YUN POX.

I hurried to borrow money in order to buy the medicine.

LAH TA POXTAYEL Z'IN, C'IN KALKALTIK TE*K HIL.

After the cure was over, he was a little better.

PERO HA* NAX CE* *OXE* K'AHAL I LIHK LA KUXUBUK A YA*Y LI*TA SBE YI*K I.

But only for two or three days, and then began to feel the pain in his throat.

MALA SPAS YA SBIK' YA*L STI*, MA SPAS XKO SWE*EL KUXLAHA YA*Y HONA.

He couldn't swallow his saliva, he couldn't swallow his food, it hurt so much.

MAHNATIK TU*LA XBAHT, ME XCOHP *O ME MA XCOHP.

We don't know whether he is going to get well or not.

*A YAK'WIL TA TYOS TU*LA X BAHT E.

We'll see what God says.

273* Many other informants relate having narrowly escaped
753 witchcraft by avoiding drinking from some particular bottle of trago. If the man who is drinking is very much alive to this possibility, he will be able to observe swirling hair-like ma-

273* 753 terial in the bottom of the bottle or glass. In a recent instance of this, a bottle with this alleged character was broken and the man who offered it to be drunk was beaten up.

I have not been able to determine any other substance orally ingested by means of which illness can be sent to the drinker. This may be associated with the fact that the membership of the drinking group in Aguacatenango is least well defined and hence the one where enemies are most likely to be encountered. Likewise it is the one in which aggressive performances are most likely to occur.[1]

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[1] This interpretation would have it that aguardiente becomes a physical medium by means of which the anger of the witch is transmitted to his target. Most aguardiente I have drunk has swirling hair in it; so foreign substance is not uncommon and thus available for potential interpretation. To restate the matter slightly, we may say: there is a language of aguardiente which depends upon the visual cues in examining the liquid. It is a one information bit language. The bit reads: If the aguardiente is clear when one is offered a drink, drink it and thank the drinker. If the aguardiente is "swirling-hairful," and one is offered a drink, break the glass or bottle and beat the offerer up. One general performance the drink pourer engages in on most occasions I have observed is as follows: He pours the drink into the shot glass, then examines the liquid to see if it is clean or not. If it is not clean, he will attempt to clean it by picking out the foreign substance (sticks, leaves, hair, dirt, etc.). This cleaing response may be conditioned in part by the one bit language mentioned above. (See drinking performance of ayuntamiento where this has been mentioned before.)

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273* 753 **Circumstances under which the drinking of aguardiente can directly cause illness**

Not only does aguardiente in some contexts serve as medium by means of which witchcraft can be communicated, but also it has a certain disease producing potential of its own when it is taken in certain amounts within a certain time period. (The ceremonial drinking plus one or more adjacent informal drinking units.) We will now review a few of the disease processes which are interpreted as beginning immediately

273* 164 adjacent to drinking performances. The most common illness that results from drinking is a state that may be glossed as a "hangover" /GOMA, XCAMEL YU*UN TRAWO/. This is a minor illness which involves the symptoms of "headache, loss of appetite, dehydration, vomiting, diarrhea, trembling," the response to

273* 757 461 which is selected from the following alternative set. The condition of GOMA is nearly exclusive with the ability to engage in routine agricultural performances. This means that the day after a ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segment, a man does not work. He has the choice, then, of staying around the house or leaving the house to perform some minor tasks such as gathering poles to support chayote vines, looking at his cattle, or any other task that takes him out of the household setting. This is an important distinction since if a man stays around the house he increases the probability that he will con-

273 757 tinue drinking by some considerable degree. The confusion of setting with cure for GOMA is further reduced if we consider the specific remedies which are employed. Aguardiente is a "hot" substance. This "heat" causes the illness, and the illness can be reduced by drinking remedies which are "cool" or "cold." Coca cola is such a remedy. A man may stay around the house and drink coca cola by way of reducing the GOMA. A second remedy for reducing a hangover is to drink as much as one-half a pint of aguardiente. This is the Tzeltal equivalent to the "hair of the dog" response. Drinking a small amount of aguardiente and staying around the house are the two conditions which make it most likely that the man will continue drinking that day. Drinking coca cola and staying around the house make it slightly less likely that a man will drink on that day. Finally, drinking either aguardiente or coca cola and leaving the house to perform some minor task makes it less and less probable that a man will go on drinking that day. These observations are relevant to an interpretation of the cure for a hangover since they clearly include alternative plans for furth action which either produce further hangovers or do not. In other words, if one wishes to cure a hangover and go on drinkin he drinks aguardiente and stays in his house where his previous day's drinking companions will be sure to find him. If, on the

273 *other hand, one wishes to stop drinking, he will drink coca cola
757 and leave the house.

Normally, a cure for a hangover, if it is not followed by more drinking, is successful in a one day time period. The length of a drinking performance can be computed as ceremonial
273 *drinking plus informal drinking plus one day. If some symptons
753 of the hangover continue on successive days, or if the hangover
757 has unusual symptoms, individuals are alerted to the fact that the drinking performance is about to cause more serious conse-
*273 quences. There follow some text fragments in which the more
753 serious consequences are displayed and discussed by informants.
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M. HA* YA HK'AN HTAMTIK RASON TY*L LIHK HATE X.HAL *IK TA SBAKEL HTATA I.

I want to ask the reason why my uncle's backache began.

D. *AX TA YOXEBAL HA*WIL, ME TA XCANEBAL HA*WIL HONC HATE LA STA E.

It began about three or four years ago.

PERE HUN TA TE ...TA K'AXIX ... TA XK'AXEL KUXEBAL YU*N *IP LEK YAKUB HONAX.

It seems that . . . a while ago . . . it was just after Holy Week, because he drank so much.

TONC BAZ'IL LAH YAK' HONC HATE HUN *U MA* BEN E.

For one month he couldn't walk, he really had it.

HÚN LAH TA YU*N XIHIL TE* A YA*Y STUK TA YOK I.

It was as though there was a splinter in his foot.

273* YA YAK' HONC HU*N K'AS YU*N TONC YU'N HIC XKOTLAHAN YA X
753 LOK' E.
757
539 It hurt a lot. He had to crawl to go out.

YU*NEN TA TRAWO LA HTA XCI.

Perhaps I got it from the trago," he said.

YU*NEN POX YA SK'AN HONC YU*N AK' TAK'IN E XCI.

"Perhaps it needs medicine, if only there were some money," he said.

X TAL AWA*Y Z'IN E, LI* LA XBAHT TA SBAKEL I.

The next thing he knew, it was here in his back.

WOKOL STUK *IL TAT TONAX YU*N SZ'IKOHONC HEHK STUK TU*L TA *A*TEL I.

It's not a little that he suffers, especially as he is now a mayordomo.

M. MA*YUK YA YAK' SBAH TA POXTAYEL.

Isn't he being cured?

HA*YUN MA*K XCOHP.

That's why it's not getting better.

273* 753 In this particular case, the illness being referred to had already lasted three or four years, according to the text. The association of drinking with the onset of this illness was strong enough, then, to be remembered by the sick man's wife after a period of years.

273* 753 539 In the following text fragment, we see another example of this reasoning about the relationship between illness and drinking.

273* M. HA* YA HLE HCAMEL YU*N *EHK YAKBEL I.
753
539 I looked for my illness in a big drunk.

LA KA*BE LEK.

I drank a lot.

YAN SOK MA*K WAN XLIHK HIC MA*K KUC'.

It's bad, and it wouldn't begin if I didn't drink.

HA* HATE YU*N MA* HUNUK NAX K'AHAL YA KUC' *EHK E.

It's because I don't drink for only one day.

YA YAC' HUN SEMNA HA* YUN TONC TE....

I drink for a week, and that's the reason. . . .

MA*K XWE*ON SOK TAK HA* YUN ... TRAWO KUXULOH *A.

I don't eat with it, that's way . . . I live on trago.

HA* YU*N TE STIH HCAMEL Z'IN *A.

It's for this reason that the illness begins.

273* In this example, not only do we see evidence for asso-
753 ciating drinking with illness, but we also observe the particu-lar type of drinking which caused the illness, namely drinking which goes on for a week. An associated feature of the drinking that caused Mariano to become sick, and that in general is perceived to cause illness, is that drinking and eating are usually mutually exclusive.

In the following remarks of Cirilo Hernandez we see further evidence of the association of illness with drinking.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273*
953 HIC MO TAXL K'AHAL E, TEMA* LAHIX HMA TAT E.
539 A few days ago, my father barely escaped dying.

*E K'UX C'UHTUL.

It was stomach ache.

HA BA YIC' TA K'OLAL YUN LA YUC' TRAWI.

He got sick because he drank aguardiente.

HUN *U LA YUC'.

He drank for a month.

TONAX YUN HA* *AN *EHK SME*L *INAM I, TONAX HUN *U SMIL SBA YUN TRAWO LI*I.

His wife left him and he killed himself drinking for a whole month.

TEMA* LAH.

He nearly died.

E SLA YO*TAN WAN.

It was from bitter anger and shame.

*AHTAL *O*TAN H*OLIL I, TEY YIHIX *ILI, TEY TRAWO NAX TAK LOM NAHT' LA YA*BE TRAWI.

On the one hand, it was from sadness; besides, he's already an old man, and he drank for a very long time.

K'AHAL *AHK'BAL, TONC *AY TA STI* HAL TRAWI XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC' XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC'.

Night and day, all that went into his mouth was trago; he started drinking as soon as he got up.

LA STOH LEK HONAX, K'O YA*Y HONC KUX HONC Z'IN I.

He paid plenty for it, he felt the effects a lot, he suffered a lot afterward.

273 KALBAT MA XAWUC'IX *A K'A KA*Y AKOMEL, HA* SNAEL TUT KAPAS
753 *ILI, XCUT.
539 I told him, "Don't go on drinking so much, you feel so bad because of your drinking," I said.

Again, in a text fragment of Juan Mendez:

J. LA *IL HA YUN K'IN I, KUC' KA*AL.

And then I drank during the fiesta.

K'AXAN K'IN NAXTAK I, HAL KA*BE XAN HUN TA KA* XAN HUN TA CE* XAN K'AHAL KA*BE XAN K'A XAN K'IN NAXTAK I, YUN MAYUNUK TRAWO STIHBON TAL MA *IK' Z'IN I.

After the fiesta, it seems to me that I drank for two days more. Don't you suppose that this rheumatism began because of the trago?

M. YUN *AY LOM K'UN HNUHKLELTIK *A HAYUN *ORA X TASWAN K'AHK' I.

Sometimes our body gets very weak and then we are taken with fever.

HTE* NAX TE*K MA *AY BA* HMAH HBAHTIK TA *IK', K'IXNAHEM HNUHKLELTIK *A E.

If our body is just a little hot, rheumatism will hit us. [Note: Aguardiente is believed to "heat" the body.]

273* 539 Extended drinking can cause fantastically frightening experiences. Jose Mendez describes one as follows:

J. HATE LIHK HONC *A TAT *ILI, LA HKUC' HC'IN KA*AL YU*N SK'IN SANTO.

It all began because I drank aguardiente on All Souls' Day.

KUC' HC'IN KA*AL *AY KA*TEL TA SNARYOS *A YU*N SLAHIB *ATEL *ABI TAT.

I drank because I was mayordomo--my last cargo.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 539 HA*NIX *ABI YU*N YOC SK'IN SANTO HA* Z'IN HO*N E *AME TONC, *AME TONC *A HO*A LEK K'AHAL LA KUC', SWAKEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN BEN SAB HONC Z'IN, MA* TEK WAN TA HNA E, TE WAN TA SNA HKUMPRE, STAT PEYRO HROK E.

After All Souls' Day, I drank for five days. On the sixth day, I got up early. I wasn't sleeping in my own house but in the house of my compadre, the father of Pedro Rogaciano.

LA YA*BON XA N HUN KWARTA Z'IN, *E TOH X*OC BON Z'IN *OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN SAK' INAL I.

He gave me another quarter of a liter, and it went down well. Then I went home, as it was getting light, to my own house.

J. HUL YA*BON Z'IN XC'IN KAHPE Z'IN I, NA*TAK ABI TAT TUT'A TE MOH TA HOL E, TONC LA LA KA* XMU HC'IN Z'IN KAHPEN I, KA* XMU HC'IN HIL Z'IN.

When I arrived my wife offered me some coffee. I don't know what got into me, but I threw the coffee at her, I threw it in her face.

HA* NAX LOK'ON Z'IN ABI BOON--HA* NAX LA MA* TU KA*YEHIX LOK'EL.

Then I just left without taking anything.

HIC C'IN MUK'UL K'AHAL Z'IN TO ME HNA * BA TONC C 'AN K'OL TA *UK'UMALTIK Z'IN LI* K'AL TA SBELAL YANC'EN TAKIN *UK'UM Z'IN E.

Late that day, I don't know where I lost myself by the river on the trail to San Bartolo, near the Rio Seco.

E MAK HNA TY *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *OCON K'OL TAT, ME TUP'IX K'AHAL *ABI ME TU *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *A.

I don't know what time it was, whether or not the sun had gone down.

TONC MAY HPIXOL MAY XANAB HIC LOK'ON, K"AL TO TAT, TONC LIHKON TAT, TONC MAY PIXOL E, MAY XANAB E, HIX PE TO LO'L KOK HK'AB TO.

273* 539 I didn't have my hat or my sandals. I went out without my hat or my sandals, with my arms folded.

HA* NAX LA XI* LO*L HONC HATE YU*N KAK' TEK X'IN KAHPEH E, BON Z'IN, *E PERE *E TONC TE TONC TE KUX LO*L KO*TAN Z'IN *A.

As I recovered my memory, I was afraid, for I threw coffee in my wife's face.

HA* TE LIHK Z'IN ABI, TONC HUN TA YU*N HOWIYEL MA HNA* TUT'A TE LA HPAS LOK'EL E.

That's the way it began, it was like madness, that's why I don't know what I set out to do.

M. *A HOWIYEL.

It's madness.

J. *E YU*NIX BAHTALUK *A TAT, *E TONC TA TRAWO LOK'ON TIK E.

It might be, sir. It's because of the trago that I went out.

273* 158 Up to the point in the fragment where José returned to his home that sixth morning, everything was going normally. He'd drunk some aguardiente to kill the hangover, which is customary, and it sounds as though he planned to stop drinking. The craziness expressed itself in his throwing coffee in his wife's face. (He may have done this in response to his wife's complaining about his drinking so long.) He furthermore left the town with no purpose and lost himself several hours' walk from town. Finally, he left his house without the proper traveling equipment--hat and sandals.

This is an experience which, by Aguacatenango standards,

273* 158 is frightening. The normal range of responses to heavy drinking includes a variety of unpleasant symptoms. It is not unusual for men to "black out" for periods of time during the later stages of the drinking performance. But loss of memory and the physical disabling features take place in paths and places within the limits of the settlement. It is an unusually strong disorganizing force that will drive a man outside of the settlement into fields and mountains, into settings in which the level of threats to persons are greater than the in-town settings.

Following this condition of loss of memory, José became physically ill, the illness lasting for more than a year. The first craziness and then the succeeding illness are traced back to the drinking context. While no mention is made of witchcraft in this text, and I could not elicit this information, this type of illness response to drinking is reaching a pitch where informants would be likely to suggest a witchcraft component in the etiology.

273* 539 The following text fragment is a little longer, but as it illustrates multiple points, it seems worthwhile to include:

M. HA* YA HK'ANTIK PAWOR MA SPAS XAWALBOTIK C'IN CA* PALUK TUT'IL TAOT TA CAMEL HKUMPRE KUX TA YAKBEL E.

Could you tell us how my compadre got sick when he got over the big drunk?

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273 MJ. 539

*E TUT'IL KUMPRE, *E TONAX, TONAX LIHK TAL TA SYAKBEL WA*.

Well, compadre, it began with the drunk, ay, dios.

*ILE--HATE HUN TA K'AHALIL E, LOK' K'ABEL, LA TONC WOKOL *AY *AH*UNEL HONC ABI.

We went out one day complaining of a terrible hangover.

YAK *AH*UNEL, YAK *AH*UNEL, *E K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWO*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"Yes, your're complaining, it's because your heart can't stand the aguardiente any longer," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE, YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A XCUT, LA LOK' XAN K'AEL, BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

"Maybe," he said, "but it still wants more." "All right," I said. Then he went out again. His father scolded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN, LA *ILI STAH TAL HIC *ORA Z'IN KUMPRE--KILTIK E NUN TA *AY NUN TA HEHC E.

He went out again, then he came about this time of day, compadre--we saw him over there, over on the other side of town.

HA* Z'IN TATA* XTU*L *AY TA KABILTA Z'IN I, LAME *AXTAK STAT CIK I XCI, MA*YUK XKUT, HAL LI* BAHTIX TA HEHCTIK I XCI, *A *E YU*NEN MA*K XTALIX *ABI XKUT.

When his father came home from the cabildo, he said, "Was Francisca's father come?" I said, "No." He said, "Perhaps he's not coming, then."

YU*NIX MA XTALIX *A TE--TE TA BAHT *A E XCUT, *AA XCI, LA *IL *AK'A ME C'AY *EHK HA*T ABI YA ME XBOTIK TA TUC'CENEK XCI.

"He's probably not coming if he's gone over there," he said. "Yes," I said. "Then hurry up, we'll go and harvest beans," he said.

273* 539 LA HA* YA KILTIK Z'IN KOEL TALIX Z'IN *A I.

Next we saw him coming down the hill.

KOEL TALIX *A SOY TAL *IL MA TATIK *AWSTIN RAMIRES.

He was coming down with old mister Augustin Ramirez [who lives up there].

LA *IL, LA *OC KIC' HC'IN COLTIK KUMPRE, HA* Z'IN C'IN *AC'IX NAXTAK YU*N HKUMPRE, BAN *ILA HTATA* I, TUM PE YU*N BOLUBEN XCI.

When we went in to begin our work, compadre, my comadre's little girl came up and said, "Come and see my uncle, he's gone crazy."

TU*N TU LA SPAS XKUT, HUHU TONC YAK WOLWUNEL TA SORAL XK'OK--XK'OKIX TA *AK'EL HILEL *ILI LOK' I, X K'AL NAXTAK XCI, *AA XKUT, XK'O KAK' HIL Z'IN HSAKO KUMPRE, TAL--LOK'ON TAL Z'IN TAL KIL.

"Why?" I said, "what happened?" "I don't know," she said, "but he is running around in the street." "All right," I said. I went to leave my bean sack and went to see.

*E LOK'IX K'AL NAXTAK *A LI* WUZUL HIL Z'IN TE YAK'EL E.

Well, he had gone out again, and the man who brought him home was sitting here.

LA TUN TU LA APAS KUMPRE TU*N TUT'IL *ILE ME MAXAKUX TE*K *AWO*TAN X*UTOT, HU*U YU*N XBONIX TA HNA, YU*N XBONIX TA HNA XCI.

They said to him, "What's the matter, compadre, why don't you sober up?" "No, I'm going to my house," he said, "I'm going to my house now."

TU*N XK'OKATIX TA HNATIK I, TUT'A TONC MOEM TA AHOL HONC I, BAN TA*LANIX X*UTOT, HICUK ABI XCI, LA * ILI MA SK'AN HONC *EHK HATE YU*N YA KIK'TIK TAL NAXTAK E.

"You've already left our house," they told him, "why are you all mixed up in your head? Go and lie down." "All right," he said, but then he didn't want us to bring him back again.

273* 539 TONC YA X*AN LO*EL.

He just went rushing out.

LA *OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA I, HA* Z'IN HKUMRE SME* CIK I, *OC SPAS HSEHT XAN Z'IN LIMON SOK SAKAL *ASKAL I, YA*BE Z'IN.

Then we got him inside the house and closed the door, and my comadre, Francisca's mother, came to make some more lemon and sugar and gave it to him right away.

SNITBE Z'IN LI* TA SOL I, TIK'IL YA*BE TAL, LA YUC' TAL Z'IN, *E *IK'A LA K'AEL, HA* Z'IN TATA* I, KUNIK TUT*A HIC KAPAS AMETO X*UTOT, KOH XCI, TAL Z'IN XC'UNBE TAL Z'IN TATA* I.

Then she rubbed it in here on his head, she gave it all to him. He came drunk, they say he was carried. Then his father came and said, "Come on, why are you behaving like this?" "All right," he said. Then he obeyed his father and came.

HAYUN TE TAL TA*LUK Z'IN, *E TONC--TONC XWOLETA XLOK' TONC LI* YA XBAHT LI* TA YUT K'ALTIK I, X*OC TAL *ABI XTAL, XWOLET YA XLOK' YA LA XBAHT XAN.

He came in and lay down, and then--then he rushed out there in the back yard, then came in, then rushed out, going away again.

YA LA X*AN LO*EL, TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, TAL Z'IN HAL *IL HKUMPRE STAT HWAN LI* I, TAL SKANANTAIK Z'IN.

He rushed out again. Then my compadre, Francisca's father, came, and then my compadre, Juan's father, here. They came to take care of him.

MA*K XLOK'AT, X*UTOT, *E MA*K YUC'IX Z'IN *A TRAWI SOK TOXANIX METI YU*N MOEM TA SOL *A.

"Don't leave," they told him. "He hasn't been drinking just now, he's just crazy in the head."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 539 MA* ME YU*N LAH TO KAWUC' HAL TRAWI YA X*UTOT, MA* KUC'IX *A TO XANIX XPAXYAHON *A XCI.

"I don't know if you were still drinking trago," they said to him. "I wasn't drinking, I was just walking around," he said.

YA KA*Y HONC HATE LI* YA XLIHK TA KO*TAN I XCI.

"I feel something that begins here around my heart," he said.

TONC XLILUN HON KO*TAN I, *E TA*LAN ABI X*UTOT, ME K'AN TA*LUK KUMPRE TONC YA X*ANLO*EL, OC HZ'AHBETIK HA TE SOL E.

"My heart is beating irregularly," he said. "Lie down," they told him. Do you think he wanted to lie down, compadre? He rushed out again. We went and threw water on his head.

TONAX MA SK'AN HATE YU*N HZ'AHBETIK SOL E, H* Z'IN TATA* Z'IN I, BA SK'OPON TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT KANTLARYA NUN TA *AHK'OL E.

He didn't like it that we threw water on his head. Then his father went to speak to my compadre, Candelaria's father, who lives up above.

XK'O SK'OPON TAL Z'IN ABI, TAL, TU*N TYLA PAS KUMPRE X*UTOT, MA*YUK *E YA TONC MA HNA* TY*TAY TONC HA* YAN HONC HOL I XCI, SOK KO*TAN XCI.

He came and said, "What happened to you, compadre?" "Nothing, I don't know, but my head is very bad," he said, "and so is my heart," he said.

TU*N TULAPA XUT--TU*N TEME YU*N *AY HAL *IL LIMON I, ME *AY HAL *IL SAKAL *ASKAL I, *AK'A TAL SEHTUK NALUK XCI, KO X*OC HPASTIK Z'IN.

"What happened to you?" he said. "If there is a little lemon and some sugar, give him some, then we will fix him up," he said.

LAH YUC' ABI KUMPRE, *ABA ME *AY AWU*N BAK' MELON, ME *AY AWU*N *ILI SAKAL *IXIM E, ZAHAL *IXIM E SPAS HIL *EHK KUMPRE, *OC YAK' HUC'TIK Z'IN.

273 539 He drank it, compadre. "If you have a melon seed, if you have some white corn and some red corn, give them to me," he said. "We have them," they said. "With these, I will fix up my compadre," he said, and he gave us these things to grind.

*OC SBALI Z'IN.

Then he went in to sweep him [or fan him].

*E TUT LA K'AN *UHTUK KUMPRE TONC YILEL.

Well, compadre, how could that cure him? He was just the same.

*OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA *ILI, TONC MA* KA*TIK LOK'UK Z'IN.

After that we shut the house and wouldn't let him out.

TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, *E TAL SKANTAIK Z'IN, *E BAK'IN *IL TY KAPASIK *ILI BAN--TU MAK XBA K'OPONBON TAL HPAYRINO NUN TA HEHC E XCI.

Then my compadre, the father of Francisca, came to take care of him and saw what he was doing and he said, "Why don't you go and speak with my padrino over on the other side?"

*ABA TAK ABI, ME YUN KAK'AN XCI, YAK YA XLAHONIX, PE YU*N HA* YA SIHT' HONC YO*TAN KUMPRE.

"Go and get him, do you want to?" he said. "Yes, I'm dying," he said. His heart was swelling, compadre.

*ILI BAHT Z'IN *EHK TATA* I, BA SK'AN TAL PAWOR Z'IN HTAZNARYOS NUN TA HEHC E.

So his father went then to ask the favor of my padrino over on the other side.

TAL Z'IN *EHK ABI, *ILI, TEME HIC ABI YATO XBA KIC' TAL C'IN HLOHTUK C'IN KIXIM HIL TA K'ALTIK KU*UN, K'AHBILIX HILEL BAN--YA XTAL KIL PERE BAN PASBONIX *A HAL *ILI NI* KAXAN LEA BA* XAWIC' TA *ORA, HUC'A HUNUK POKET XCILA.

My padrino came, and he said, "I'm going to get a little of my corn that I left in the field, it's already cut. I'll come and see, but go meanwhile and get me some cattail tips and grind them into a ball."

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 539 ... TAL Z'IN *EHK HAL *IL HTAZNARYOS ABI, LA *OC TA MAKLEYEL Z'IN.

My padrino came then and went in to pulse him.

*E YU*N HA* MA*K STA HAL TRAWI, TONC, TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TONC HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL YU*N YIK' TRAWI XCI.

"The aguardiente does not sit well with him," he said. "His spirit has left him, and he is crazy in the head. His spirit has left him because of the odor of the aguardiente," he said.

HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL ABI, HAYUN TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TEME YU*N--YU*N YAK YA*BE XAN HUNUK K'AHAL, CE*UK K'AHAL E, YU*N MA* YKIX WOKOL XMILOT *A XCI.

"It has gone to his head, so his spirit has left him. If this goes on another day or two, it could easily kill him."

YAK'WIL TU*L YA XBAHT E, *E KANANTAIK M XCI, HICUK ABI XCI--*E TONAX MA XTEHK *A HONC KUMPRE TONC XWOLETA XAHC.

"Well, we'll see how he does. Take good care of him," he said. "All right," I said. But he didn't stop, compadre, he just jumped up.

HATE YU*N XWOLETA XAHC E, Z'IN NAX YA STEN KOEL, TA*LAN TUM PE *IBA *AYON X*UTOT Z'IN.

And when he jumped up, they held him down. "Lie down, I'm here," they told him.

*A YU*N XBON TA HNA, XBON TA HNA, TUM PE TA ANAIX *AYAT BA* TO XBAT *ILI X*UT--

"I'm going home, I'm going home," he said. "But you are in your house, where are you going now?" they said.

*E YU*N *AY MAC'A XTAL *A, Z'AM MA MAC'A *AY HTUKELTIK NAX TA*LAN TONC KAWAK'ALANON TA WOKOL *O*L HBA *EHUK X*T--LA X*OC TA*LUK, TY WOKOL HONC XNEL *AHK'BAL Z'N KUMPRE.

273* 539 "Someone is coming," he said. "No, there's nobody coming, we're here by ourselves. Lie down, you're making me suffer, I feel weak also," they said to him. Then he lay down, but what suffering we went through that night, compadre.

YU*N TE YAL TE*K Z'IN YO*TAN I, *E *OC KA*BETIK XAN YA*L SAKAL *ASKAL SOK LIMON I, *A YUC' XAN TE*K TEME YOU*N *AY TO SK'AHAL TRAWI XCI, HICUK XCUT, LA LEK HA* YA YUC' XAN Z'IN *A KUMPRE XCE*BAL K'AHAL Z'IN YOXEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN, TAL XAN Z'IN *EHK HAL HOSE *ERNANTES NUN E.

As the swelling of his heart went down, we went in to give him more sugar water with lemon. "He should drink more of this, for the heat of the trago is still there," he said. "All right," I said. He drank this then, compadre. Two or three days later, Jose Hernandez came here.

HA* *IL TU*UN XBAH SAK' TAL SZEK *ALAL I, YA--KAN TA HIL *A TAT I XKUT *EHK HC'IN *AC'IX I, *E HICUK ABI XCI.

"That one--why?--I'm going to wash the baby's diapers, you stay here and take care of your father," I said to the little girl. "All right," she said.

LEK WUZUL K'AL TA TI*NAIL *A, *AY XCUHKIL SOL, TONC *O*L SBA HONAX.

At the moment he was sitting in front of the house with a handkerchief around his head, he was very sad.

HA* Z'IN *EHK HOSE BI PERSA LA K'AX YIK'.

Then that Jose came by and insisted on taking him along.

HATE TAL HULUKON TAL E, HA* AKIL HA* NITBILIX TAL YU*N *A HKUMRE SME* CIK I, YA LA XLOK'IX NAXTAK *A.

When I got back, I saw my comadre, Francisca's mother, pulling him to keep him from leaving again.

HA* Z'IN HOSE I, TU*N MA XAWIK'BON LO*L TAT MA* XIK'BON MA* KAWIL HWOKOTIK TE MA K'AN LA HUKIX *A METO TY WOKOL KUX AMETO LA *IK'EL XAN LO*EL, TE YU*NUK YAK XBON E, WOKOL *AY HA ZAM E.

273* 539 And then to Jose, "Don't take him away, sir, don't take him. Don't you see how we have suffered? He was going to die. He got better with great difficulty, after many efforts. He's not well."

HE* *AYIL ABI TUME C'IN TO *EHUK YU*N TONC MA XC'UN TUT'A KALBETIK I, KAWAY HATE XMALAWANIX HAL TRAWI LA XLOK'AT XAN, HAMAL YU*N MA*K AWA*Y TUT'A HALBOTAT HIL E, HA* KAK'AN XCAMATA TRAW, PERE YU*N MA XU* HONA XCI.

Ay, dios, why should I worry? He's not a little boy. He just doesn't do what we tell him. "You know that the trago is killing you, but you go out again as if you didn't know what they told you. You just want to die of trago." "But I can't stand it, I feel so bad," he said.

273* 757 In order to avoid consequences of drinking as severe as those detailed above, some men procure medicine designed to reduce the probability of their drinking when the occasion arises. We have already cited a text fragment in which such a "cure" is discussed. There, some doubt was expressed as to the medicine's effectiveness, but Candelario, who had just taken it, was not willing to risk dying by drinking while it was in effect. In another text fragment, more evidence in favor of the "cure" is offered as follows:

273* 539 I. HA* PERSA XPOXIL I PE MA HNA* ME *AY WAN XPOXIL TAT *E MA*YUK *E PE XCIIK HONAX.

Some medicine is necessary, but I don't know if there is one, sir. Many people say there isn't.

M. *AY NIX *A YUN TOL STOHOL.

There is, but it's expensive.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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273* 539 I. TOYOL *E HA* NAX A HNALI HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO LI* TA SPAT HNA HUN HU O HUN TA TRENTA KWARENTA TU*L A STOHO XPOX E.

Expensive, yes. My compadre, Pedro's father, here behind my house--I don't know, it seems that he paid thirty or forty [pesos] for the medicine.

TE*MA* CAM SOK.

He almost died of it.

V. MA HNA* BA* LA YIC' TAL WA*.

I don't know where he got it, ay, dios.

I. YU*C'O LEK HONC *A YUC' Z'IN XPOX E.

He was really drunk when he took the medicine.

TYO CAMEN NEL *AHK'BAL

After that, he was stunned the whole day.

V. SAMEL TAL XENEL YA*TIK.

He was vomiting at the same time.

I. *OC *ORASYON LA LIHK XENEL E, LA SYETE LA *OCO LA MANYANA MA*K X LAMA.

About the time of the oración [evening] he began to vomit; at seven or eight in the morning he hadn't settled down yet.

E HAHCON CE BELTA X K'O KIL ... HKUY TA TONC A XEEN X LAH, *E HUHU KUMRE YUN YU*C'OH SMA POX YA TO X LAMA XCIO.

I got up twice and went over to see him . . . I thought he was just vomiting and would die, but he said, "I don't know, comadre, it's just that I took the medicine, it's going to go away soon."

PERE--*E PERE MA* BA YUC'.

But he hasn't drunk since.

273* 539 M. *A MA* BA YUC', HA* XANIX TEME YUN A SMAK TE*K E.

Ah, he hasn't drunk since. It's good if it stops him for a while.

I. *E HAYUN HIC A KAL, TEME SPAS TE*K POX TU*L A YUC' TATIK SEKRETARYI.

That's what I mean, if it works like the remedy the Secretary took.

*IPAL HA*WIL TE*K MA*K YUC' HAL A YUC'BE XPOXIL *ILE.

He hasn't drunk for many years, he took medicine.

M. HIC STUK *ILE HUH*U.

You're right about him.

HA* TONIX PERSA STUK C'IN POX LEHTIK (YUC'E)

Those of us who drink are very much interested in such a medicine.

273* 757 The general characteristics of the medicine for reducing the strength and number of one's drinking performances, as perceived by Aguacatenangueros, are the physical effects if one continues to drink after taking it. Illness and even death may be expected, as has been suggested in the texts cited. The medicine thus overrides all social and psychological "reasons" for drinking. One can tell whether or not the medicine is effective by attempting to continue to drink. If one wishes to drink and feels no unusually bad effects therefrom, it is clear that the medicine is not working.

273* 753 Aguardiente is illness-producing either directly because of its substance, or symbolically because it is one of the media

273 753 by means of which a witch causes his victim to ingest poisonous substances. In turn, the drinking of aguardiente is interpreted as a disease process to the extent that individuals take "medicine" to reduce the number of occasions upon which they drink. The text citations which have been inserted above are suggestive of these points. By way of summing up this section, I would like to offer a less easily verifiable interpretation which provides still further context in terms of which the reader can think about the drinking performances in Aguacatenango.

273 183 [562] The first simple set of observations is as follows: Men drink and women don't. Some men drink more than others but all men must drink some. Some men would prefer to drink less than they do. Drinking settings for some men, especially under the informal drinking rules, are settings in which some considerable hostility is expressed. Suppose we take the case of the man who wishes to drink less. He can achieve this end in the short run by either drinking more or not drinking at all. He knows that he will not be able to completely terminate his drinking performances (the ceremonial drinking performances) until he is an old man. Ceremonial drinking performances are required of all men. He can, however, reduce the number of informal drinking performances. If a man wants to reduce the number of informal drinking performances, then, he can do so by increasing the average length of any particular informal drinking performance.

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273* 183 [753] Increasing the length of an informal drinking performance increases the probability that the individual will become ill (as well as exhaust all his resources, anger the members of his household, and so on). Upon the next occasion when some individual invites him to start an informal drinking performance, he can respond by saying, "I am afraid to start an informal drinking performance with you since my style of informal drinking performance results for me in severe illness, alienates my family, causes economic catastrophe to my household." The person inviting must allow that this is true, in view of the fact that he observed ego engaging in such extended performances within the past year, say. On the other hand, an individual can stop engaging in informal drinking performances by reporting that he has taken medicine for drinking, which medicine will cause his death if he drinks. It is not unusual for a man to take medicine and then become very sick by way of telling the community that it was real medicine with strong disease producing effects. If a man goes on drinking in the informal drinking after he has taken the medicine, it is proof that the medicine did not have the desired effect. The common feature of either response to the desire to reduce amount of drinking: increasing the length of the informal drinking performances or taking medicine puts the individual in that context which allows him to say,

273* "If I drink I will die." We believe that it is only by citing
183 such severe effects as this that an individual can, over the long run, control his response to the invitation to drink.[1]

Some men prefer to drink more in the informal drinking performances than do most men. These men can increase number and length of informal drinking performances by seeking out the existing informal drinking groups on any particular day. The rule is that anyone may join any informal drinking group at the beginning of an informal drinking performance if, and only if, he can contribute a proportional amount of the aguardiente which is being drunk. It is the case that as an informal drinking group approaches deep drunkenness, it becomes easier for any man to join the informal drinking group without paying his proportional share of the drinking expenses.

273* It appears to be the case, then, that individuals must
753 get sick in order to reduce their number of informal drinking performances. Individuals also may get sick as the result of drinking under any circumstances. Long informal drinking performances allow individuals to behave as though they were ex-

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[1]In the short run, a man can avoid any particular, highly probable informal drinking performance by leaving the field, as was suggested above. That is, by knowing which days informal drinking performances are more likely to occur on than other days (the ten day time zone around some major fiesta, or Sundays, for example), he can arrange to be "away on business."

273* 753 periencing strong aversive physical effects. It is likely that individuals who wish to reduce the number of informal drinking performances manipulate the informal drinking segment length, because of standing beliefs about the relationship between drinking and illness. The only way a man can get out of his social obligations is to place himself in the special condition of being particularly prone to illness. Procedures for inducing illness are then likely to become strategies in controlling participation in informal drinking performances.

Aguardiente and curing

273* 755 There is considerable variation in the use of aguardiente in the curing ceremonies in Aguacatenango. Two classes of use may be distinguished. The first of these may be called medicinal use. The second class involves drinking by the participants of the curing ceremony other than the patient himself. These two classes of use may be relatively easily distinguished as follows: aguardiente as it is administered to the patient is generally mixed with other substances, although occasionally the curer will give the patient a straight draught of aguardiente. The participants (male, married drink deeply; all others drink an intermittent, non-intoxicating amount) on the other hand drink in the ceremonial drinking pattern. In violation of the cere-

273* 755 monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age relative to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* 539 Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'K.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMRE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

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[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude [756] [554] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

273* 539 HA* XK'O--TE NEL *AHK'BALTIK KU*NTIK *A HAL *AHK'ABEI

They went over there--we spent the night there last night.

HNUX MA*LAH KIMPRE.

She almost died, compadre.

CAMEN HULEL, LOM LA YAK' SWOKOL.

(The baby) was born dead, she suffered for nothing.

J. ... HA* Z'INABI *E SUNUL *AHK'BAL, MA*A LAHUK *OXE*BUK LITRO I SUNUL *AHK'BAL I.

During the night we drank about three liters, the whole night.

M. *E HAYEBEX *ABI.

And how many of you were there?

J. *E HAYEBOTIK, *E CANE(BOTIK *A SOK CENCO NUN TA HEMEL E, SOK CANTUL *ANZTIK--

How many? Four of us, with Ausencio from over in the valley, and four women.

*E *ULIK STUKEL T'UXAHIK LEK, HA*Z'IN HO*NE MA*BA LOM T'UXAHON LEK ... XLOK' K'AHAL LOK'ONTAL I.

They all got so drunk they fell down. I didn't fall down myself . . . I left as the sun was coming up.

755 The curing ceremony is a public performance, the audience of which is constituted of the sick person's near consanguineals, 273* 755 affinals, ritual kin and neighbors. The males in this audience--which varies in size depending on the estimated severity of the illness--pace their drinking with that of the curer. He in turn is dependent on the host who initially arranged with him to make the cure for the supply of aguardiente. It is characteristic

273 755 that the curer and the adult males will drink sufficient trago through the night (this being the normal length of a single curing segment) so that at least some of the men will continue drinking the next day in other than the curing setting. (The minimal drinking unit equals ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking).

As is indicated in the first text fragment, drinking on the part of the curer is seen to be a mode of fitting himself for the difficult task he has to perform. "Difficult" means in this context that curing an individual is not necessarily likely to result in the patient getting well and the responses of the family members to a cure that failed may include hostility directed towards the curer.

In the case where the sick person appears to be dying the collected relatives and neighbors continue to accompany him as do one or more curers. They remain until he appears to have recovered from the crisis or until he dies. Drinking continues, though on a somewhat more intermittent basis, across this whole period of time, which may be as long as several days.

Quite often other curers will be called in and the pulsing-curing sequence repeated with the resultant increase again in the consumption of aguardiente. When and if the patient dies, a funeral sequence is initiated which will be described below.

273* 755 [757] The administration of trago directly to the patient in the course of the curing ceremony is unusual, though it may be mixed with other ingredients (raw eggs, essence of rosemary, the curer's saliva and/or chicken blood) and a cup or bowl of this mixture given to the patient to drink. Alternatively it may be applied to the body of the patient, the curer blowing it on him a mouthful at a time. Aguardiente is occasionally used to drug chickens which are used in the course of the ceremony. We have seen chickens so drugged placed on the patient's head where they calmly remain for a period of a half hour or more.

273* 764 Drinking during the funeral ceremony

The burial of a dead person takes place within a period of twenty-four hours after he is declared to be dead. The time lag depends primarily on how soon a casket can be bought, the primary source of caskets being carpenter shops in Pinola--a six hour round of walking. The morning after the death, neighbors and bilateral male relatives walk out to the cemetery to dig the grave. They take a liter of trago with them which they drink while they are digging the grave. Others of this group stay at the house of the dead person where a ceremonial is being prepared, where the cadaver is being washed and dressed and wailed over by women who are closely related to the dead person.

The return of the grave diggers to the house signals the

273 769 serving of a meal to them and others who are present. Up to this point drinking is light, this being associated with the fact that a number of tasks are being completed which require sobriety. After the midday meal is served, the rezadora comes and prays with the women over the body. The body is then placed in the casket, the lid is nailed down, and it is carried off to the cemetery, about two kilometers distant. Once the casket is placed in the grave, and the grave begun to be filled, the intensity of drinking sharply increases, both men and the near women relatives (wife, mother, daughter) of the deceased, drinking. This increased rate of drinking continues as the funeral party returns to the house of the deceased and there continues to drink through most of the night.

273 539 769 M. LA TU *ORA BA MUHUK Z'IN ... HATE *ALAL E.

When did you go to bury the child?

J. TU *ORA *AHK'BALTIKIX *A LOK'OKOTIK K'AL, SAPET K'INAL I.

We went as night was coming, about seven at night.

WOKOL CIKNAH TAL HOMA.

It was difficult to find our way back on the trail.

M. WUC'IK TAL HUHUNUX ABI.

Everybody was a little drunk coming back.

J. HAYUN LA HKA*BETIK C'IN HUHUNUX Z'IN.

We gave everybody a little bit.

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LA HT'UXAH Z'IN YAN I.

The rest of them fell down afterward.

HAYUN LA HT'UXAH Z'IN, HUN TA Z'IN KUMPRETIK Z'IN STAT *ANTON I, *E *ULEM HONC SAK'INAL Z'IN I.

They fell down afterward, and it seems that our compadre, Antonio's father, was good and drunk by morning.

Many of the males at the funeral fiesta continue to drink on the following day, though in other settings, and the near male relatives of the deceased will continue to drink for as long as a week after the burial--to calm the sadness of their hearts, as they say. The aguardiente for the funeral fiesta is provided by the members of the household in which the dead person lived and/or by the lineal descending relatives. On succeeding days, the men who continue to drink secure their aguardiente under the normal rule of laissez faire drinking (informal drinking).

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CHAPTER V

SUMMING THE MATTER UP

273* 554 There are basically two patterns of drinking among the Aguacatenangueros. The first of these we may define as the internally complex unit ± ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking (but at least one of these). The second of these we will define as intermittent non-cumulative drinking--that is, drinking performances which do not lead to deep drunkenness. These two patterns of drinking performances are associated with large classes of the population. The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is expressed by married males. The intermittent non-cumulative drinking pattern is expressed by all other persons (unmarried males and all females).[1] When individuals drink, they are constrained to express one pattern or the other as is congruent with their role. By drinking in a particular way, an individual certifies his membership in a particular role class.

273* 571 885 Adult males (equivalent to males married at least once) drink within the limitations of the ceremonial drinking ± in-

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[184] [171] [1]This particular contrast is not general to all Tzeltal-Tzotzil speakers in the Chiapas highlands.

273 formal drinking pattern. These limits may be expressed in terms
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[885] of the necessity to drink under those circumstances when one is a member of a group which is engaging in a ceremonial drinking sequence. Every male is a member of several such groups. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment leads to deep drunkenness. Under most conditions the ceremonial drinking segment is followed by an informal drinking segment. Informal drinking segments also lead to deep drunkenness. Following the participation in such segments, a man probably recuperates for a day before he returns to his regular daily routines. Hence a typical drinking performance may be expressed as ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking + recuperating period.

273 The ceremonial drinking ± informal drinking pattern is,
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622 as we have seen, an essential component of many recurring per-
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755 formances in Aguacatenango. We have described the role of drinking in the celebration of family and community holidays, the certification of civil authority, the resolution of conflict, and the etiology as well as the treatment of illness. The indispensability of drinking to such performances is suggested in the following exchange between the ayuntamiento which is retiring and the ayuntamiento which is entering office (as reported by Juan Perez).

273* 539 Speaker for the old ayuntamiento: YA NAX HIC YA XLOK'ON K'AL TO, MA WAN TOHUK NAX YA XHAHCON L*EL.

Today, mother-father [i.e., respected] New Authorities, Authorities who are entering office, it is not possible simply to leave, it's not correct simply to get up and leave.

*AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, BA* WAN K'AN KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, BA* WAN K'AN HMELBAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PORKE SYEMPRE *AY XCAMELAL C'IN UN POKO KUMPIRAL LA HPASTIK YU*N *OCAT.

Perhaps I have some tobacco, perhaps I have a cigarette which I can leave in your heart, which I can leave in your body, since we still feel the hangover from the exchange of gifts which we made because you entered [to take your cargos].

HICON *EHUK, YU*N LOK'ON, HIC KOSTUMBRF YU*N TEHKLUM, HIC KOSTUMBRE YU*N HME*TIK HTATIK.

I, too, am leaving office. It's the custom of the town. It's the custom of our ancestors.

AX TYEMPO, AX *ORA, MA HO*KOTIK NAX LA HLIHKESTIK TAL, SINOKE *AX TYEMPO, *AX *ORA, KIC 'OHTIK TAL KOSTUMBRE YU*N HNAL HC'IEL, HNAL HLOK'EL.

It's been a long time, a long time, we did't invent [these customs], rather we have had these customs for a long time, since those who were first born, since those who first came out.

CAMIX WAN, LAHIX WAN, PERO HO*TIK E, MA*K XC'AY TE KOSTUMBRE KU*NTIK E.

Perhaps they died, perhaps they are finished, but we don't lose our customs.

BA* WAN K'AN *AXIC'BON C'IN HPISUK, C'IN HUNUK KOPA KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, KA*BAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PARAKE HIC XK'IXNAH AWO*TAN, XK'IXNAH AC'IC'EL, *ABAK'ETAL, PARAKE YU*N KONTENTA XLOK'ON BAEL, KONTENTA XBON.

Where it is possible to receive it, a small measure, a shot glass, I am going to give your heart, so that it will warm your body, so that it will warm your heart, warm your blood and your flesh, so that I can leave contented, go contented.

273 539 YAL, MA*YAL HIL TA *AWO*TAN, TY YIPAL LA HTAH TAL SOK HZO*BLEHAL, HYOMLEHAL, TAL KAK' HIL TE *ERRAMYENTA.

Either it goes down or it doesn't go down, that which I have procured. With all of my group I came to leave the tools [i.e., the town equipment for road construction which is entrusted to the ayuntamiento].

HA* XC'IN KUMPIRALIL, *AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, KA*BAT HNUXUK, HTE*BUK.

This is my little gift, a bit of tobacco, a cigarette, I give you a little.

ME YAL, MA* YAL TA *AWOTAN, HIC XTOHUB KO*TAN *EHK *A, HIC HMELZA*AN HBAHTIK *A, HICON *EHUK, YU*N ME XLOK'ONIX BAEL, YA ME XBONIX, HA* ME YU*N HIC YA KALBAT HME* HTAT *AWKTORIDA.

Whether it goes down well or it does not go down well in your heart, I am complying also. Thus we arrange things. I, too, am going, now I'm going, that's why I am telling you this, respected Authorities.

In response to this speech, the spokesman for the new ayuntamiento replies: BA* ME LA *AWIC' HME* HTAT, MA ME *AK TUTA HK'AN, MA ME *AK TUTA YA HK'ANBAT, MA ME *AK TUT'I LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN, TUTA LA *AHAM *ATI*.

Where did you get it, mother-father? I'm not asking for anything, I don't have anything to give you, there is nothing. You opened your heart, you opened your lips.

*AY LAH HBAL *AMAY *AY LA HBAL *ASIGARRO YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KO*TAN YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KAHC'ALEL TUYIPAL ZO*BOLON, YOMOLON LI* TA C'UL KABILTA LI* TA C'UL HUSGADO; YA KIC'BAT *ENTREGAL.

You have tobacco, you have a cigarette to give to my heart, to give to my body, as we are gathered here in the sacred town hall, in the sacred courthouse. I am going to receive what you are giving me.

HOKOL *AWAL YA WAN HZ'UN KAHREHIDOR *A SPIS *A YAK' TU YIPAL WUSTO *AWUN E, TU YIPAL *ATAH TAL.

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539 Thank you very much. Perhaps I will name my regidor to measure the aguardiente, the amount which is your pleasure, the amount which you procured.

PERO MA ME YAK HK'AN, BA ME LA *AWIC'IX *A, BA ME TALIX *AWUN *A, STOHOL ME TAK'IN STOHOL ME SENTABO, WOKOL ME HTATIK WOKOL ME *A KIC'TIK TALEL, MA ME STOHUB C'UL TRAWO, TOYOL TE*K STOHOL, PURO SK'OP TAK'IN.

But I'm not asking for anything. Where did you get it? Where did you bring it from? This requires money, this requires pennies. It costs us to get it, it costs us to bring it. We can't pay for the trago. It's very expensive. One gets it only with money.

PERO KOMO LA *AHAM, LA *AHAM *ATI* LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN HOKOL *AWAL.

But since you opened your mouth, you opened your heart, thank you very much.

YA HZAKBAT, HA*YUN *IBAY, *IL CA* TUL PERSONA, YUN YA SPIS, YUN YA YA*BUKOTIK TA KO*TANTIK, YA*BOTIK TA KAC'LELTIK.

I'm going to receive it. Here are the two persons who will measure it, so that it can be given to our hearts, so that it can be given to our bodies.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT *AWTORIDA SOK SALYENTE, YA ME KIC' *ENTREGAL, COTLANIK HZ'INUK.

Thank you very much, respected Authorities who are leaving. I'm going to receive what you bring, sit down for a while.

MA WAN HO*KON NAX K'AN KAK' TA KO*TAN PAHAL YAH TUNTESTIK PAHAL YA HMEL TA KO*TANTIK YUN WAN HIC XXUXLEH KO*TANTIK *A, YUN HIC X *AK'BIL LAH KO*TANTIK *A.

Perhaps I won't just put it in my own heart. Equally let us drink, equally drink a round for our hearts, in order to sober our hearts, in order to make our hearts happy.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA ME HZAK, YA ME KIC', *AK'A PERSONETIK, HMELA TA KO*TANTIK MAHTANTIK YUN HMETIK HTATIK YUN LOK'IX, NELIX HUN HA*WIL K'INAL HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA HZAK YA KIC' LEK *AY.

273 539 Thank you, respected ones, I am going to take it, I am going to have it. Give it to the persons, a round for our hearts, the gift of the respected ones who are leaving, their year is finished. Thank you, respected ones, I will receive it. Good.

Ceremonial drinking is seen to have side effects which are as clearly patterned and recurrent as the central performances themselves. As drinking "warms the heart," it relaxes control over interpersonal behavior. Warning against this side effect is given in the following text fragments:

The counsel of an elder to the new members of the ayuntamiento:

MA ME *AWUC' *IPAL TRAWO PORKE *AY ME MAHEL CUKEL YA ME XTAL TA TOYOL, YA ME XTAL TA YALEL.

Don't drink too much. For there are crimes to be settled, great ones, or lesser ones may come.

ME LAK AWUC' TRAWO PORKE MALYEL ME ASK'AN, YA ME STAL HUN *ORDEN YA ME XTAL HUN KARTA XTAL HUN *OFISIO.

It's not good to drink trago, because you must wait, an order might come, a letter might come, a duty might come.

*AY ME TOYOL XTAL, *AY ME YALEL YA XTAL.

Much work or little work may come.

HA* ME YUN KUXA *AWO*TAN, MA ME MILABA TA YAKBEL PARA KE HIC ZAM KAWIL TE HUSGADO ZAM KAWIL TE *AWUNTIKIL.

For this reason, stay sober. Don't kill yourselves drinking. Thus you can contentedly care for the town, contentedly watch over your children.

Again, in the counsel of an elder to the wives of new members of the ayuntamiento:

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273* HICAT *EHK *ANZETIK, *ABA ME SMAZ', *ABA ME YOT, PARAKE YU*N
539 YU*N MA XWI*NAH XC'UHT.

And you, wives, give him his pozole, give him his tortilla, so that he won't be hungry.

ME XYAKUB MA ME HAK'BE SK'OP, *ATA*LUK XCEBAL K'AHAL XTAL YIL SKABILTA.

If he gets drunk, don't provoke him, the next day he will come back to the cabildo.

PERO TEME HA*T PUKUHAT *ANZETIK, TEME HA*T K'AHK'AT, ENTONSE TE X*ILIN TE WINIK, REPENTA SMAHAT, REPENTA XYUTAT, KOMO *CEM TA TRAWO, REPENTA ME XK'AHK'UB SOL TE *AMAMILAL, TE SENYOR *AHENTE, TE SENYOR HWES.

But if you women are bad, if you are mean, then the man gets angry and he may well strike you, he may well scold you, since he is drunk, he may well get hot-headed, your husband the president, or the judge.

Once again, the counsel of an elder to the community at large:

MA ME XAPASIK PLET, ZAM XK'OPOHEX, KOMO *ERMANO, KOMPAGRE, KOMAGRE.

Don't fight, converse in the manner of brothers, compadres, comadres.

YA KAWUC'IK TRAWO K'AYEHINAN, YAKUBAN PASA KONTENTO SOK *ATRAWO.

If you drink aguardiente, sing, get drunk, make yourselves happy with the aguardiente.

*ANSIKE LA LAH SZAKAT TRAWO, *ABA YAK'AT HIL TE MAC'A LAH YA*Y SOL TA TRAWO.

When once you are drunk, go and take home the one whose trago has gone to his head.

*ABA YA*BAT TA SNA, HA* MERO *ERMANO BI.

Take him to his house, like a true brother.

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539 MA*YU*NUK LAH YIL TE XYAKUBAT, SMAHAT ENTONSE MULILME, MA ME HK'AN.

It's not right when you see that he is drunk to hit him, that's a crime, I don't like it.

Other side effects of drinking, these latter associated with prolonged informal drinking, are also negatively evaluated. In one text fragment we find the following exchange:

C. MA*Y K'AHAL STUK--K'IN E, XTA TAK STOHOL KA*ALTIK.

There's a fiesta coming up. I'll have to get some money for aguardiente.

M. PERSA, *A HA* NAX STOHOL *A STUK HAL YA XLIHK *OCEL *A*TEL I.

There isn't any choice, we have to look for work to raise money for trago.

C. PERO MA*YUK AWUC' HA* TE MA *AY.

But you haven't been drinking?

M. YA KA*BE *EHUK.

I've been drinking.

C. YAK PE COPOLIX MA* HA*CUK XTUL*L NAME TAL E.

Yeah, but you haven't been drinking like you used to.

M. MAY LAH TO NAX KA*BE EHK *ABI.

It's not been long since I had a good drunk.

PIM YA YUC' HAL TRAWI.

I drink a lot.

MA TO BA* YA KUC'IX *A STUK *ORA ILI.

I haven't drunk yet in this fiesta.

MAYUK, YA STI CAMEL TRAWI.

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The trago is making me ill.

C. YAK, *IK *IXANWAN *EHUK.

That's right, it's bad for you.

HO*N E, *AX K'AHAL MA* BA KA*BE *EHUK, HUN TA HA*TO LA KA*BE YU*N TO *ENERO TAL E.

I haven't drunk for days, not since January.

*IX YAK' BETIL TONC, *E SOK TONC MA*K XLOK' TA NA*EL KA*TELTIK YU*N MAXTAK.

We got into debt and forget our work.

MA* ZAMUKIX *A.

It's not good.

M. PURA CAMELIX YUKUKOTIK *A.

We just get sick.

C. HA* NAX ZAM *A TE *OCEM TRAWO *A E.

But it's beautiful when the trago is in us.

M. YIP *AK'BIL KO*TANTIK SOK *ABI.

It's the only time we're really happy.

C. YA X*AWUNAT HONC *A STUBI.

You shout a lot when you are drunk.

M. XLOK' AZE*EH YUN STUBI.

You laugh when you are drunk.

PERE HA* Z'IN TEME KUX K'AL Z'IN E, *E YUN HA HAL HUHUNUXANIX MA*K XLAHOTIK YU*N Z'IN I.

But afterwards when we are getting over a big drunk, we come close to dying.

273* The preceding text fragment shows very clearly the essential ambivalence of Aguacatenango men toward drinking--their perception of necessity, the rewards, and the punishing side effects. M. first observes that the advent of a fiesta changes the pattern of work for the men. They shift their labor from the production of goods they will be consuming in the household, to the search for wage labor which will give them money that can be spent during the fiesta. After this opening gambit, C. establishes that M. has continued to drink as he did in past years and M. establishes that C. has not drunk seriously for the past seven months.

Having both agreed that they drink a lot, they list the reasons why it is a bad kind of performance to engage in. First there is associated as a consequence the advent of illness, a reflex which they both agree is serious and certain. Then comes the feature that one inevitably goes into debt. Associated with the debt factor is the consideration that drinking causes one to lose work days. At some times of the year, such a loss may require that one hire others in order to finish weeding, say, or in order to get the harvest in.

However, these two men go on to recall that they do both drink and they agree that life is only beautiful when one is drunk. C. tells M. that he shouts a lot when he is drunk and M. replies by observing that C. laughs a lot. M. soberly

273* concludes by observing that the after-effects of drinking are inevitably bad.

Thus while the drinking performances themselves are highly satisfying experiences, the consequences of drinking may be illness, economic loss, and possible death. Such consequences of any next drinking performance do not, however, appear to prevent that drinking performance from taking place; even though the consequences are the public knowledge of all the men in Aguacatenango.

273* 562 593 The woman's view of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking sequences is long-suffering (but not necessarily uncomplaining). Women are constrained to complain relatively little as their husbands become ill or abusive and their household resources dwindle. The woman who berates or strikes or abandons her drunken husband is criticized, and desertion of a husband by a wife is never attributed either to his drinking per se nor to his drunken abuse.

273* 539 In the following excerpts from text, a wife complains and her husband belittles or laughs off her concern time after time.

I. MA* LO*ILUK IX A X YAKUB HONC *A ATATAI, *E YES YA*TEL.
Your uncle gets drunk a lot, it's his occupation.

V. HE HE HE.
Ha, Ha, ha!

273* 539 I. TUT'A C'IN ZAM A HTAHTIK, *E TONC SNA* MA*K SNA* A STI*, *AY WI*NAL A X CAM *A, *E LA BA* LA X BA HTAHTIK TAL *EHUK, MA X KILTIK BA* C'IKIL, TOH XAMIX TE POHOL *A YA LA IX CAMIX TA WI*NAL WA* KERE*.

The good things that we find for him, sometimes he remembers to eat and sometimes he doesn't, sometimes he's dying of hunger and then how are we going to find him, we don't know where he is. There he is lying there alone, dying of hunger, ay, dios.

V. HE HE!

Ha, ha!

I. ZAM XC'IN K'U* XC'IN PAK' X LOK'BAEL, BOTOX TA *AHC'AL A.

He goes out with a nice shirt and comes back all muddy.

... K'AX Z'IN SK'IN HALME*TIK I ... TONC LA *ULEM TA WAYEL XHOL TA TE* HC'IX STUK YOK E, NUN KA*Z'AL TA TE* NUN TA TI* MAK TE* E.

. . . After the fiesta of the Virgin of the Nativity . . . he was dead drunk, asleep with his foot caught in the fence, there he was hung on the fence.

V. HE HE HE, MA*Y YAHC'ALEL STUK ABI HI.

Ha, ha, ha! There wasn't any mud there!

I. ... HATE X TAL KUXUK YO*TAN TAT, YUN YAUBEN, YAUBEN.

. . . When he sobers up, sir, he's very thin and weak.

V. *E YUN MA*K XWE*OTIK WA*.

It's because I don't eat, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA LE *A*TEL E MA X U*IX YU*UN *O*L SBA.

He goes to work and he can't do it any more, poor thing.

HUN K'AHAL CE* K'AHAL YUC' E HA* NAX TE*K ABI, PERE *ILI WAXKE* K'AHAL, BALNE* K'AHAL, HUK* K'AHAL.

273*
539 If he would only drink for just one or two days--but he drinks eight, nine, seven days at a time.

TIHIHTIK *AY KUX YO*TAN CE* K'AHAL *A *CXE* K'AHAL *A X TAL AWA*I X YAKUB IX A X LOK' TAL TA KABILTA *A.

And he drinks often. He'll be sober for two or three days, and the first thing I know he comes home from the Cabildo drunk again.

HA* TE X LIHKESOK I.

It's there that he begins [to drink].

M. HA* X TU*L BA*Y PARTA I.

If there is a case to be settled, for example.

I. ... LOM MA SNA* TU*L X K'OPOH *EHK TA YAKBEL I MA SNA* TU X YAL, *E KE TAL ME XC'UNIK E, *AY XC'UNIK IX LEK--K'AN SMILON IX TA *AHTAL *O*TAN E--

. . . And also, he doesn't know how he should talk, when he's drunk he doesn't know what he's saying, and what if they believe him? Some people believe him--I'm nearly dying with worry.

*E YUN LA YIC', YUN LA X BA SMILIK IX, P'EXEL *AY NUN X BA YAWTIK TA KABILTE.

[They say] that they're going to kill him, that it's clear, that they're going to shout it in the Cabildo [i.e., that he has threatened witchcraft].

V. *EHE--MA CIKO WASKIS STUBI, *E YOBRA NIX *A *ILE TONC PUKUHIK WA*

Oh--that old Francisco Vasquez, he's always like that, they're bad, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA MUK' YU*NIK, LAPE HAYUN TONC HA*C ME X LIHK YAK'ON TA *AHTAL *O*TAN, HAYUN HUN TA TONC HA* X K'UB *AHTAL *OTAN HAYUN TONC A X *IPAH Z'IN HCAMEL I.

Those people really believe it. That's why I'm beginning to worry so, that's why the pain is getting worse, that's why my illness is getting worse.

273* 539 I. ... PE *ILI LA STA HUNUK KWARTA, LA STA *OLILUK, HUNUK LITRO SOK SHOTAK E YUN TY*P' IX *ABI YUN C'AY IX SHOL *ABI.

. . . But if he gets a quarter of a liter, a half-liter, a liter with his friends, with that he is stunned, he loses his senses.

V. SOK MA*YUK IX LEK SOLOL KY*N HO*N E, *OLIL XANIX LA X YAKUBON.

I don't have a good head any more, I get drunk on only a half-liter.

MA HNA* TU*UN YAMEL I XAYUB HC'I*C'ELTIK, MA HA*CUK NANE HAYEBUK X KU*C' *A.

I don't know why, my blood is getting less, it wasn't that way before, I could drink a lot more.

PERE *ORA *ILI YU*N LA--YUN *ORA XANIX A X YAKUBON.

But now--I get drunk very quickly.

... *E *O*L HBAHTIK Z'IN--*E TONC A KIXANTIK *EHK HC'I *C'TELTIK I.

. . . We're sad afterward--and it's bad for our blood.

I. LEK ME TEHK'AH MA* TEHK'AH YUN A XEHTA LO*EL.

Whether he stops or not, he's torn up with vomiting.

V. WA HA HA WA HA HA.

Ay, dios, ha, ha, ha!

TONC A HLE HCAMEL *A SNALYE, PE MA X KA*Y K'OP HICUK *UC WAHA*.

I'm just looking for the damned illness, but I don't obey, just like a tlacuache [small wild animal], ay, dios.

I. HA* *AHTAL *OTANTIK SBA YAKBEL I.

Drunkenness causes a lot of suffering.

273 Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances are deeply imbedded in Aguacatenango life. Another measure of this imbeddedness is the degree to which the performances in drinking operate under a special, well-defined, contrastive set of rules, as compared with performances that are entertainable while individuals are sober. The behavior of drunken individuals requires special interpretation by others and is rarely used as a basis for character judgment.

Ceremonial drinking and informal drinking performances are actively called for in situations of high ritual or ceremonial salience. Under these circumstances all adult males who are present are expected to drink in well measured amounts to a degree that leads to deep drunkenness. Individuals who engage [554] in these performances minimally share the features of being married males. These are required performances, namely performances which no man can either opt to do or not to do. Options occur in informal drinking performances only in the sense that some men extend the informal drinking beyond what counts as a minimal unit.

In the case of required performances, individuals who do not participate in them are told that they will occur. In the case of drinking performances, for example, women are told that the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern will be acted out. They are further told of the known side effects of these performances.

273* 571 these performances. Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances involve the careful pacing of drinking so that every member of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking group is in an equivalent state of drunkenness (insofar as this can be controlled by controlling the distribution of aguardiente). When members of such a group relate to people who are outside it--who have not been drinking--the probability of hostility and [593] violence increases. Women are warned that their husbands, as a result of having participated in a ceremonial drinking performance, will be more "temperamental" in interaction; will be more likely to curse them and strike them for any minor irritation. Proper, relaxed, behavior is possible between individuals who are fellow ceremonial drinking or informal drinking members, or between individuals who are sober, but are more difficult to express between individuals one of whom is drunk and the other of whom is sober.

Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances result in side effects which participants would prefer not to accept as the basis for further inference and action. Blows or harsh words, that might be exchanged if these were used to define the quality of interpersonal relations, would exclude other possible transactions such as loaning money or goods, asking favors for curing, exchanging labor and so on. Under such circumstances in Aguacatenango, there is developed a "theory" of

273* 571 ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances which specifically precludes using drunken behavior as a basis for further inference and action. The detectable intent of a drunken man's behavior is irrelevant to one's relationship with him when he is sober. The normal character evaluation procedures which individuals use to form estimates of the behavior potential of others is stopped. This, like all conditions, however, is only proximate as is indicated in a number of texts in which drunken behavior is used as a basis for character evaluation. Nonetheless, such evaluations tend to count for less when some man's character is being summed up.

273* The non-optional character of drinking performances over broad classes of social roles precludes the easy diagnosis of specific "reasons" why any particular individual drinks. Required and customary behavior patterns do not permit a facile explanation as to the intent of a particular individual in engaging in them. In turn, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking pattern is so general and so recurring across settings and circumstances that it is difficult to conclude the "individuals drink to reduce anxiety" (p. 3 of this thesis) or that "drinking serves a predominantly integrative role" (ibid.) or that drinking is related to "variables indicating a personal rather than a corporate organization" (ibid.). An anthropologist, in the face of conclusions such as these, must point out that

273* proper interpretations of drinking behavior can only proceed as rapidly as careful descriptions of drinking behavior are formulated. Drinking performances anywhere in the world occur in more or less well defined contexts which are subject to well ordered descriptions. One cannot judge any individual's drinking performances until and unless he has discovered the contextual rules in terms of which this individual is operating. It has [121] been the intent of this thesis to point to some of these kinds of contextual rules.

273* 554 In Aguacatenango drinking performances reflect important principles of social organization which are elsewhere attested in other performances which are not drinking performances. In drinking performances there is a simultaneous mapping of differences in social status and role as there is a statement of how the wealth in the community should be divided. In any drinking [561] performance, men of senior age and generation drink first, their juniors drinking later. Women and children drink separately and in small amounts. While the relative order of drinking marks the relative status of the men present, all men drink the same amount. Not only does this clearly delineate men's and women's roles but it also expresses the condition that across time, every man can expect to occupy a status position senior to the one he presently has. Such changes in status are not dependent [556] upon the achievement of great wealth since everyone should have

273 this in equal amounts (as mapped by the equal amounts of aguardient
554
556 they receive). In fact, as we have earlier observed, drinking performances are regularly scheduled, explicitly verbalized events in which differences in real wealth are leveled.

121 The ethnographic aims of this thesis may be summed up more or less as follows. It is clear, now, that it is possible to describe systems within culture in terms relevant and significant to those who are participants in that culture. This thesis has aimed to formulate such a description of drinking behavior in Aguacatenango. The procedures we have discussed in the earlier chapters are general in the sense that they are, it now appears to us, applicable to any culture, and to most foci or domains therein. One should not be surprised, however, if some varieties of learned behavior are not directly access'ble to study in this fashion.

000 Though some notions from structural linguistics seem relevant, the immediate relevance of linguistic data is as an aid in discovering and relating other cultural patterns. McQuown's reading of Whorf's (1941) statement regarding "fashions of speaking" seems relevant here: "This approach [Whorf's] would seem to de-emphasize the role of linguistic patterns as such and to stress the function of language as a medium for the manifestation of other cultural patterns, in which precise formal characteristics of the medium were merely limiting and not determining

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000 factors" (McQuown 1956). Precise formal characteristics of the language involved are primarily useful in directing otherwise unstructured stages of the search for patterning.

121 In actuality, we have proceeded in our investigations with a definition in mind, namely that culture consists of what it is the members know or believe in order to behave in the way they do (to paraphrase Goodenough 1957). Acceptability of behavior implies a relation of appropriateness or congruence between behavior and the circumstances in which it occurs. Circumstances operate to restrict to a greater or lesser degree the number of behaviors appropriate thereto, as an effective substitution frame in grammatical analysis leads to the definition of form classes by operating to restrict the number of forms which are substitutable therein. In fact the thesis has been an attempt to locate such environments, such constraining conditions.

We have used verbal environments as a primary source of data, not only because of ease of record-making, as well as the obvious convenience of dealing in this mediated way with things and situations not immediately at hand or impossible to bring to hand; but also because verbal behavior appears to bear some investigable relation to things non-linguistic, and provides the best available tool for the discrimination of meaningful units therein.

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[For the role of "talking saints" in Tzeltal medical practices, see also category 756.]

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[For detailed information on various aspects of drinking performance in Aguacatenango, see category 116, pp. 1-4, 10, 44-47, 49-99, 102-113, and 125-183.]